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Pine Ridge
The Philippines
"Captive Nations"
Sovereignty
Alcohol & "The People"
Poetry
Menominees
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Letters
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... and many more



Pauline K. Pershing
1741 Peachtree Lane
Norristown, Pennsylvania 19401

- Lisle '72

A JOURNAL FOR NATIVE AND NATURAL PEOPLES

HOW IT IS WITH US

[Recently, the well-published Mohawk poet, Peter Blue Cloud, returned from California after many years residence there, to Mohawk country and to work actively with AKWESASNE NOTES. We asked him to write this "How It Is With Us" column, which he did, signing it with his Mohawk name.]

I've been reading AKWESASNE NOTES since the first issues, but this is my first time on the actual scene of production. There are frantic days here when the layout and the mailing are in progress. At that time, the NOTES office-and-residence, sometimes called "Nation House", is crowded with traditional Mohawks, the small permanent staff, and visitors who have come from all parts of our earth. Plains Indians work side-by-side with Germans, Dutch, and others from just down the road.

The first morning, I woke up at the first light of dawn to find one of the staff kneading dough to bake bread to last through the day. She is also in the process of starting breakfast, and dealing with the dirty dishes in the sink due to a late "snack" by some visitors. Sleeping persons seem to be scattered all through the house, on the floor in each room. She turns on the tap for cold water and finds that the extra visitors and dry weather have caused the well to run dry. Later, I learn that the woman who cooked breakfast also sorts clippings, does purchasing, handles accounts receivable, writes letters, and many other vital jobs.

I follow some visitors into the garden and watch as they begin to weed, hoeing every weed in sight (and a few other plants). They must be told that only the weeds which tend to shade-out and drown the vegetables are removed from around the plants — weeds growing in the aisles help hold the moisture: "Ah, I see," they say, eyes gleaming in enlightenment. But tomorrow brings new visitors and necessitates new instruction.

But back to this particular day. Breakfast is now over and someone has taken the hint and is doing the dishes. Upstairs can be heard the clatter of the typewriter, the sound soon becoming background to all else. Downstairs at a long table in the enclosed porch, three people sit proof-reading large pages of copy enclosed in plastic envelopes. They mark errors with a black grease pencil and the sheets are taken back upstairs and the corrections typed. These are taken down to the back room where another table is situated with the layout crew who cut and paste in the corrections, while an artist is making small drawings and designs which serve to break the monotony of written copy for the eyes. This cycle is repeated time and time again until no more errors can be detected by the proof-readers (but even so 'tis said, errors do appear).

A few days pass while the paper is being printed. There are still letters to be answered, the mailing lists to be added to, orders to be filled, house-cleaning, cooking, washing, gardening, shopping, etc.

The truck goes on a morning and returns later with the first load of papers. Bundle after bundle is carried into the house. A new frenzy of activity begins. The mailing lists are transferred onto labels, then fed into another machine which stamps them onto individual copies of NOTES. Hands take the stacks as they come off the machine and put them into piles by zip code. These go to the two tables which have been converted to assembly lines for packaging and tying. Mail bags are filled with bundles and are loaded onto the truck. The truck goes to the post office, and then off to the printer to pick up more copies. Again it is a four-day cycle of hard, steady work.

Meanwhile, other persons working at various other locations, do their jobs — opening mail, doing layouts, handling business details, gardening. Although they are unseen by those who visit the main office, their efforts are vital to the whole operation.

There is laughter and joking, and much, much conversation. Visitors are made welcome upon their arrival here, and the feeling of the household is of a oneness. And this sums up NOTES and Nation House — it is a sharing. This is not to say that perfection is found here, for to work towards a unity involves all of the things which make up everyday life. But it is the reality of AKWESASNE NOTES which is so important.

This sharing extends to those who phone in news, send news clippings, essays, poetry, or just write to let us know that we have many friends out there. You don't have to reside at Nation House to be part of NOTES. If you've read NOTES and agree that the message should be shared, then go out and promote NOTES, the calendar, our book publications, posters, crafts and pipe smoking mixtures. Visit your libraries, schools and

bookstores to see that they carry our publications. Ask your local smoke shop to stock Kinni-kinnick, and your gift or crafts shops to handle our crafts. These are the products which keep NOTES going.

NOTES does not pay for itself. This is because so many persons are not able to contribute the suggested \$5 a year subscription. This is understandable, for we do not ask for donations from those who cannot afford it. But if you're one of those who have "put off" sending your contribution, please do so now — it is badly needed after a dry summer.

All visitors are welcomed. Most are eager to help and are given small jobs around the house. This is good, but not really enough. Someone is needed to manage the kitchen and to do the housekeeping and maintenance. Persons working on the paper and its projects already have far too much to do. The person who keeps up the mailing list and ships out book orders could easily work a 24-hour day and still have a backlog of work. Hundreds of requests, letters, orders come in the mail — and are needed for NOTES' survival.

Part of this added work is felt when there is an overflow of visitors. Visitors are welcome, as I said, but it should be remembered that this is a place of work. Visitors who want to visit the Longhouse people at Akwesasne should contact them directly, and not use NOTES as a base of operations. Persons who wish simply to visit are welcomed, but should keep their visit as short as possible. Persons wishing to help NOTES for a short period should relate to whatever work is going on at the time, whether it be writing letters or scrubbing floors or mailing newspapers, and when the work is caught up and their purpose has been accomplished, to not remain unnecessarily. The problem is not with each individual visitor, but with the cumulative effect — as the number of visitors reaches a certain point, ten or so or more, then all work seems to grind to a halt and everyone ends up frustrated.

The needs here are many, from office supplies of every type to winter clothing, tools for carpentry, gardening, plumbing, wood-cutting, and auto-repair. Sleeping bags and towels are needed as badly as are good filing cabinets and typewriters. Since contributions really cover only costs of printing and mailing, and since all staff people are volunteers, the standard of living and working really depends upon the readers — what they send is what NOTES has. [See "things needed" list.]

I think back to Alcatraz and Indians of All Tribes. The concept of allness is here at NOTES, but remember that it is you, the individual out there, who keeps it all going. Above all else, AKWESASNE NOTES is a sharing.

— Aroniawenrate



AKWESASNE NOTES

AKWESASNE NOTES is the official publication of the Mohawk Nation at Akwesasne (People of the Longhouse) and contains (from time to time) Longhouse News, the official publication of the Mohawk Nation at Kanawake.

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DO YOU HAVE A RED LABEL?

Look at the front page — check your address label. If it is marked in red, this is the last issue you will receive unless we hear from you. We hope you won't be angry — this is the only way we have of cleaning up the mailing list every so often since there are no paid subscriptions.



This month it is California that gets the dirty deed, plus Quebec and a few European nations who are "red-labelled." ALL YOU HAVE TO DO IT WRITE TO US and your name will be reinstated. This is not an appeal for money, although it might be a good time to renew your support.

VISITORS AND VOLUNTEERS AT NOTES

Until November 20, while part of the NOTES staff will be away from the offices, it would be best if persons wishing to visit NOTES delayed their plans. During this period, accommodations will be limited, and we will have little need for extra assistance.

Persons wishing to visit after November 20 are asked to write ahead whenever possible. We're sorry to say it, but we're too crowded to offer hospitality right in our own building for more than a night or two, and few of us have homes of our own in which we can take visitors.

However, we are forming a one-month task force for the publication of the next issue, and to catch up on other work. A limited number of persons with specific skills to offer will work with our regular staff. Meals and sleeping space can be provided. Persons wishing to apply are asked to write with information, and we will write back with confirmation. Please write soon, as the task force will be completed in late October.

Among the skills needed are persons to:

- answer correspondence
- file address cards
- assist with shipping of books, calendars
- experienced typists
- writers, editors
- maintenance, cleaning, cooking
- collection of bad debts
- other ideas?

Preference will be given to persons from Akwesasne, then native people generally, and if space permits, other persons.

The response for help at NOTES is seldom answered. Good typists, a maintenance person, carpenter/all-around-handyperson, writers for interviews/research/composition, talented people to travel with White Roots of Peace, a financial manager to handle purchasing and accounts receivable — all these kinds of help are still needed. The work is hard and the hours long but the end results are gratifying — AKWESASNE NOTES.

NEEDED FOR NOTES:

- translator for Portuguese to English
- translator for Norwegian to English
- a treadle sewing machine
- a dehumidifier
- snowshoes, toboggans, sleds
- maple syrup-making equipment
- adding machine or digital calculator
- animal hides
- pails
- linoleum
- Coleman & Alladin lamps
- art supplies, oils
- canvas waterproofing
- tree-trimming saws

We managed to get out three issues of AKWESASNE NOTES this summer — but now there will be a 10-week delay before you will receive your next issue.

Articles, information, news, clippings, etc., should reach us by November 15 for routine consideration, and the absolute deadline will be about December 5.

THIS PAPER COMES OUT WITH LOVE AND ENERGY OF MANY, INCLUDING:

Connie, Doug, Rurihokwats, Kaherahare, Dorothy Thomas, Snowbird & Dorothy Ann, Mickey Posluns, Kanawieinton, Juan Reyna & Juanito & Kota, Jayne George, Rokwaho, Susie Boots, Colleen, Peter Blue Cloud, Kahonhes, Francis & Katsi, Sheila Smoke, Claus, Blackhawk, Steve Sampson, Barbara & Rita of Germany, Karonhianoron, Greg Thomas, Jerome Diabo, Ateronhiatakton, and many more.

Thanks also to Nelson & Christin Crowfoot who gave AKWESASNE NOTES their garden for harvesting for our winter food.

We are very grateful to all our friends who have sent us books, magazines, documents, and equipment of value to enable us to do our work. This material aid is not only indicative of the political and moral support we receive from friends in nations all over the world, but it gives us the strength and encouragement to continue our task.

We are especially grateful to our Onaway friends from England who came here to support our efforts and lives.

A year ago, three persons who worked and shared with us in the work here at Akwesasne were killed in a tragic car accident. We remember them now, as this issue goes out, re-dedicating ourselves to strengthening the ways of the Creation as their spirit and the Creation are one.

In the early summer issue, there was an article detailing development plans taking place across Canada. That article was not attributed to its author, Terry Ford, a long-time worker with the James Bay Committee, and a supporter of AKWESASNE NOTES. We regret the omission, and are glad to know that Terry Ford is to be credited with much of the material, along with minor additions from other sources.

HOW TO SUBSCRIBE TO NOTES?
HOW TO SUPPORT NOTES?
See Resource Pages.

Going Home
Home, many miles away.
Or is it?
I see only a haze of home,
so far off in the distance.
I trot so I can reach it soon.
I remember the people there.
I start to run, knowing
I will be welcomed
Then I fall because I
tripped on a stone.
When I look up
Home is so far off yet.
I cry wondering if I'll
ever get there.
Then I start remembering
that I will be safe when I'm
home.
So I get up and start
walking, remembering
I'm going Home.

— Tsewaa

POETRY

sun dance
willows

The Creator

The killer whale days are gone
The heart of old lives with them.
Misty fog and lazy thoughts,
Salted fish feelings
And mellowed seal oil.
Warmth brings a
Seagulls eye of spirit
Dawn
A whale is near
Morning mist hastens the canoe
Men quest the powers
Harpoons wait the escape
They speak of the spirit
In songs of nature . . .
Veined hands eat with moistened lips
Of dried salmon.
Halibut hooks and bear-shaped bowls
Tangled in cedar mats.
Hundreds of hummingbirds
Rest on my grave.

— Jim Tollerud
(Makah)

tree — my brother

place my hand
on his rough side
feel his lifespirt
beating our old songs

telling me stories
of skittering snow-creatures
hitching up
windhowling hills
the lonely
beauty at night

let the songs
play slow games
with my being his
songs make their

cycles in my heart
the heart
makes its cycles
in the world

— pineapple



crawling up
pine needle path
moss glow mist
cool green lichen drip
beneath
big rock over hang
flute
fire
song
through the trees
harmonic
sunlit
river island
rainbow
spirit
joy

— Rainbow Flute

Hopiland Lizard: Fossil Tracks You

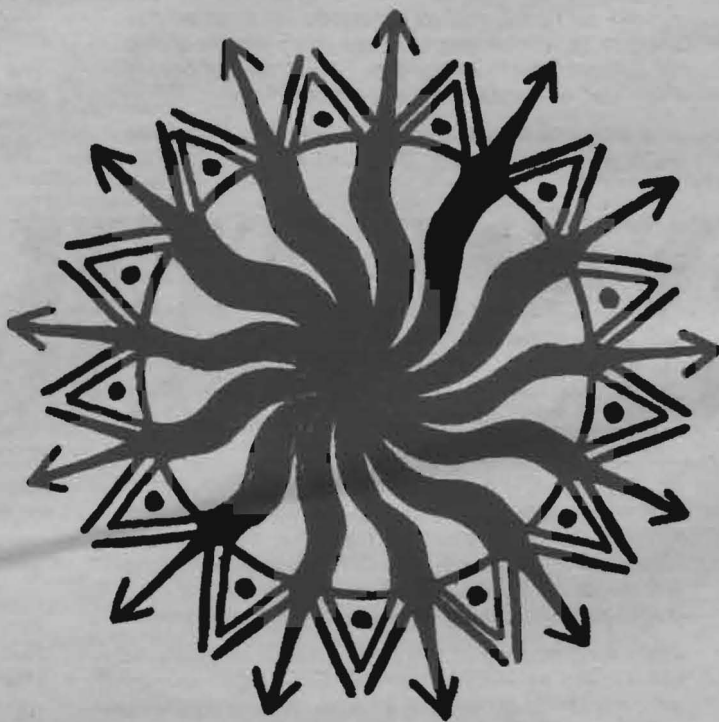
Slender chance:
that your tracks
in the sand
could be caught
in sweet stillness
to hold on
to us now.

— G P Nabhan

The Round Dance

Dancing those ample foot-faced rhythms
Shaped by drum-tone
Many bodies moving strong together
Made my face shine, made my feet touch
Woman-warm earth.

Cinthia Conrad



I am oyster beds
off shores
of Montauk.
sand
spindrift
fog

I am rising birch
and a flowering
tree.
pipe
soapstone
smoke

I am paths
brushed by
feet of Iroquois
runners,
leaf
wampum
owl

I am plains
trailing
centuries of wind.
sage
snake
mesquite

I am Painted Arrows
and Sun-Dance willows

I am turquoise
skies and flaming
desert cacti.
canyon
hogan
try bread

I am valleys
of winding waters
and shallows
of abalone.

I am totems
carved in antler
and salmon
spawning rushing
rivers.
My clan is a Turtle Island.

I am Brother.
deer
elk
Red Tailed Hawk
I am a Keeper of the Land.

I am generations
of Hand Tremblers
and Coyote Legends.
songs
rattles
waterdrum

In Me are the Four Directions
of Medicine Wheel.
I am Indian.

— P.J. Brown

to the forest/first among the returning

2.

notice small things
very very small very
small things in birth
of a nail the white crest
mirrored first on the eye's lake
dawn
slipping through the edge of a sparrow's nest
notice the cellophane wings
of Butterfly's death its colors fused
into Rainbow

there and not
ephemeral
as bright only as reflection is.
notice the grains of Earth crushed
into a palm
delineating cells and
the Line of Life.

— Batya Dina

THE BRIGHTER STARS

One-by-one
the birches
disappear as
one-by-one
the stars
appear.

— Max S. Barker

THEN

If I should die inside
please carry me out
If I should already be outside
let me lay where I am
so during the day the buzzards may feast well
for they are great harmless birds
and in the night the coyotes and bobcats can
come and dine
for their life isn't always easy
and they have tremendous courage
perhaps I shall be honored by a mountain lion's
visit and (if it be Spring) she shall bring her
cubs

to the whole family I say: Salud!
Whatever the laws the mortician's lobby has had passed
don't put me inside a boxshaped corrupted tree
then the box inside a metal or concrete or plastic vault
this is war against nature and I won't have it
and most of all don't feed me to the redhot tongue
of fire

If there is purpose to death it is life and it is multifold
instant life again
the beautiful softfooted life of the lion
the soaring buoyant life of the buzzard
the industrious life of the fly
the tunneling life of the worm who has cultivated
billions of earth-acres more than man with all
his cute gimmicks will ever turn over
let me be of them

Let me fly over verdant hills with the velvetblack raven
Let me watch the creek at night with the whitenosed coon
Let me dig great caverns with the subterranean badger

And later
when there is nothing but bones
a little skin
some hair left
permit me to return to the earth mother

The first year let a great white mushroom rise where I
have been
The second make the grass green and high so the deer
can eat well
The third send a chapparal bush out of my head
a manzanita from my toes
The fourth a great liveoak so an owl can build her home
in me and rear her (my) children
The fifth a whiteoak so I can gossip with the woodpeckers
and flickers and jays
The sixth a pine so the graysquirrel can eat my fruit
and make me a part of him and when the wind blows
I can climb to the top of myself to rock enthusiastically
in the childlike air

I'm not much on begging but this I ask
don't give me to the embalmer with his sterile
chemicals and abuse of fire

Let me live in eternity
I already know what my soul will do
let my body act out its destiny.

J.P. Bernhard



What all this means — the involvement of the Secret Service, the heavy media blackout, the grand juries and paramilitary raids — is anyone's guess.

Anyone following the course of events in the U.S. can see that the government is laying back on domestic

oppression in order to have a "quiet society" happily celebrating the Bicentennial, and hopefully electing the current powers back into office in the '76 elections.

Who knows what's going on in the struggle for sovereignty and justice spurred by activists of the American Indian Movement?

The U.S. media isn't telling anybody — or maybe the

media doesn't know what's going on.

The U.S. paramilitary/legal-system alliance has stepped up its activities this summer, but aside from hysteria-creating local news in Indian country, it isn't telling anybody either.

— *Leonard Crow Dog is in jail after a massive assault on his home in a pre-dawn raid by helicopters carrying jeeps and a hundred officers dressed for battle.*

— *A car bearing a group of native people, including Dennis Banks' wife and child, blows up on the Kansas Turnpike, and all concerned are arrested and charged in what authorities say was a plot involving 40,000 persons to assassinate U.S. President Gerald Ford and vice-president Nelson Rockefeller.*

— *a group of Oglala chiefs and headmen have been waiting in Washington, D.C., for weeks now after*

writing President Ford on July 26 they were on their way to see him. Ford says he's busy.

— *the reign of terror continues at Pine Ridge with the stomping-death of former tribal councilman Jim Little.*

— *grand jury indictments involving as many as 200 persons may be forthcoming from Rapid City.*

— *a federal appeals court says a South Dakota U.S. District Court must hear Russell Means' case charging fraud in the tribal election of Dick Wilson at Pine Ridge.*

— *Means is on trial in Sioux Falls, S.D.*

— *a raid by a large force of officers on a farm which was the site of the 1973 AIM convention included Secret Service agents who said they found a "full-scale field hospital and automatic weapons."*

REIGN OF TERROR CONTINUES IN S. DAKOTA

The Arrest of Jimmy Eagle

Jimmy Eagle was born at Pine Ridge, but since his father is an Arapaho from the Wind River Reservation in Wyoming, Jimmy is officially enrolled there, a fact federal propagandists used to make it appear he was an "outside agitator". He was raised by his grandmother, Gladys Bissonette, founder of the Oglala Sioux Civil Rights ORganization and an American Indian Movement activist. During the occupation of Wounded Knee, Jimmy Eagle helped get food through government armaments into the surrounded village. His grandmother played a major role in the negotiations ending the occupation, and was a witness for the defense in many of the trials that followed.

Jimmy Eagle's family has paid dearly in blood for its opposition to the elected reservation establishment of Dick Wilson. His cousin, Pedro Bissonette, was shot to death in October, 1973, by BIA policemen who claimed he was "resisting arrest". An aunt, Jeanette Bissonette, was fatally shot in the head March 26 while driving home from the wake of another slain AIM member.

A few days later, his brother, Richard Eagle, was found dead of gunshot wounds. He was eleven years old.

In late May, there was a shootout after members of the goon squad attacked an AIM group. Jimmy Eagle was charged in federal court in Rapid City with assault with a dangerous weapon, and was freed on \$5,000 bond. Hearings on those charges had been scheduled for July 9. But on June 23, Robert Dunsmore and Jerry Schwarting, sons of two white reservation ranchers, alleged they had been relieved of their cowboy boots after a drinking party, and four Oglalas, including Eagle, were charged with federal warrants charging assault and robbery.

The day after warrants for the four were issued that federal agents Jack Cole and Ronald Williams came to the Jumping Bull family ranch, 11 miles northwest of Pine Ridge, claiming they had been informed Eagle was there. They left, apparently to chase a truck seen moving down a nearby road, and sometimes afterwards, were found shot.

When Eagle turned himself in July 5 on the robbery charge, his bond was set at \$25,000 although the other three people involved in the alleged robbery had bond set at \$5,000 unsecured, and were released in the custody of their lawyer. When it appeared Eagle's bond could not be kept that high on that charge, the FBI charged him with the murders, and the court increased the bond to \$250,000.

On September 5, a bond reduction hearing was held behind locked courtroom doors, without spectators or press. No decision was announced.

The charges against Eagle are based on an FBI claim that two prisoners who had been incarcerated with Eagle had told the FBI that Eagle had admitted to the shootings. The complaint filed against Eagle alleges he gave the two prisoners a detailed account of the deaths of the two FBI men, down to the caliber of the weapons used.

However, that version of the deaths listed by the FBI contradicts what is known about the incident. Perhaps the FBI has not kept up with the news, for the complaint parallels the initial report put out by the U.S. immediately after the shootings, and most of that later turned out to be completely false.

For example, according to the complaint, the shooting took place at a cluster of several houses near the village of Oglala. This was the FBI's original story. But the agents were found next to their cars several hundred yards away from the houses, deep inside private Indian land.

The complaint describes Eagle as saying that after one agent had been hit, the other surrendered and "begged

for his life." But one of the Indians shot him, and then "everyone took turns shooting the agent." This almost fits the initial government report of an "execution" where the agents were shot "fifteen to twenty times." But it doesn't fit FBI Director Clarence Kelley's July 1 statement that each agent had been hit three times.

Eagle supposedly said there were "many people" at the houses, armed with M-16s and M-14 rifles and other weapons. They stayed for a shootout with government forces, which lasted from noon until it began to get dark, the story went. Then, Eagle and others got into a car and drove away, Eagle was supposed to have said. But with a reported total of 250 police reinforcements on the scene, blockades on all the roads, the houses totally surrounded, it is highly unlikely that 24 or more persons could have slipped away unnoticed.

Clearly, the story attributed to Eagle is not plausible, a fact the FBI must know. And yet, there is no other evidence to implicate him. In fact, witnesses have come forward to testify that Eagle was at the home of his grandmother, Gladys Bissonette, many miles away throughout the entire episode.

Gladys Bissonette says Eagle could not have been involved. "I know, and a lot of people know, that Jimmy was not at the shooting. He was right here in my house (in Pine Ridge). I can stand up with him any day. This is the dirtiest, crookedest conspiracy I've ever heard of — they're trumped-up charges."

Assistant U.S. Attorney Richard Hurd told the court that a man fitting Eagle's description was spotted at the Jumping Bull Ranch shootout by an Indian policeman using a telescope. Later, Hurd told the judge that two Pine Ridge residents, Melvin White Wing and Gregory D. Clifford who were in the jail at the same time as Eagle, had come to the FBI to tell them Eagle had admitted to them his part in the shooting of the agents. Hurd declined to discuss whatever further evidence the U.S. had against Eagle.

At the hearing, only Clifford and the two FBI agents testified, and they said they did not see Eagle at the Jumping Bull houses where the shooting took place. Although eight other persons shared the same cell as Clifford and Eagle, Clifford was the only one to testify about the supposed conversations.

Under cross-examination, Clifford said Eagle had never said he killed anyone, or mentioned the name of anyone else who may have — he had talked about "they", evidently simply relating the latest news to a fellow-inmate, news which had come from the early FBI press statements.

Clifford had just returned from 99 days at the Springfield, Missouri, Federal Prison Hospital where he was undergoing evaluation to determine if he was able to stand trial on a charge of carnal knowledge.

Additional cross examination revealed that Clifford

had wanted to join AIM, but had been discouraged by members, including Eagle.

Testimony of FBI agents at Eagle's hearing was greatly at odds with previous FBI statements. According to the August 4 testimony, the initial shooting took place in a meadow at the foot of a ravine behind the Jumping Bull houses — and not at the houses at all as first claimed.

FBI agent Dean Howard Hughes, who said he led the final assault on the houses, admitted that law enforcement officers in the area knew the houses were empty as early as 3:30 p.m., and yet they still launched an "attack, clear, and secure" operation at 5:50 p.m.

In fact, it seemed, after those initial shots from the ravine, no further shots had been fired at the officers from the houses or anywhere else. Yet they fired back at the houses with vengeance, killing Joseph Stuntz Kills Right, one of the occupants.

Agent Gary Adams told the court that the bodies of the two agents had been found in a "cross-fire" — but did not indicate from whose guns. At the scene there were FBI agents, BIA police, highway patrol, SWAT team members, and the State Tactical Squad. The FBI has refused to release the autopsy reports, which might indicate the kind of weapon which caused the death of the agents.

Security was strict for Eagle's hearing — and it was closed to the public. Even defense legal workers were excluded. U.S. Magistrate James Wilson said Eagle had no Sixth Amendment right to a public hearing since it was just a preliminary hearing and not an actual trial procedure.

Eagle has had trouble getting legal advice. He has written the Wounded Knee Legal Defense/Offense Committee that he wants it to represent him, but on orders from U.S. Magistrate James Wilson, jailers refuse to allow WKLDLOC lawyers to see him. U.S. District Judge Andrew Bogue refuses to intervene because he will not recognize the defense committee although it has now represented hundreds of Wounded Knee defendants and others charged in related situations.

Bogue did meet with persistent attorneys about the situation, but would only promise that he himself would meet with Eagle to see what he wanted. He refused to set a date for a bond reduction hearing, saying he had a very full calendar, apparently a euphemism for a one-week scheduled vacation.

Meanwhile, the FBI questions Eagle intently and frequently. Agents have threatened to indict members of his family if he doesn't "cooperate", and even say they know he had nothing to do with the shooting, but he and more innocent people will be indicted unless he talks. Eagle reportedly continues telling them, "I want to see my lawyer."



Jimmy Eagle and officers after July 27 hearing

— Rapid City Journal photo

If there were witnesses to the shoot-out, they weren't talking. Michael White Bear Claws, 16, was on a hill near the Jumping Bull houses the day of the shooting. Asked by the FBI what he saw, the youngster said, "I was praying, and when I pray, my eyes are shut." Agents told him that if he was praying for AIM, they'd put a bullet in him.

Agents are also trying to establish the identity of a young girl they think they wounded or killed June 26.

During a lull in the siege, a 12-year-old boy ran out of one of the houses, his hands up, yelling for firing to stop. When the forces started firing on him, the youngster ran into the outhouse, and was still fired on. The FBI is still trying to determine his identity, but the youth has not dared to come forward.



The Star Chamber Proceedings

A federal grand jury fishing for information and used to harass Pine Ridge activists reconvened September 2. Subpoenas had been issued for Ivis and Angie Long Visitor, who resided at the Jumping Bull homestead near which the FBI agents had died, although authorities know they were away in town when the shooting occurred. Also summonsed was Joanna LeDeaux, who attempted to arrange a cease-fire during the siege on the homes.

When they were brought before the grand jury, they read statements asserting their rights as Oglala people, citizens of their own nations, and on that ground, refused to answer any questions asked them by R.D. Hurd, the assistant U.S. attorney who will likely also be the one to prosecute the cases arising from the supposedly-secret proceedings. He also was the prosecutor for the Wounded Knee grand juries and the trial of Dennis Banks and Russell Means in St. Paul, where he was severely chastized by Judge Fred Nichol for government misconduct.

The three were cited for contempt, and hearings on those charges will take place September 16.

The Long Visitors, parents of three young children and life-long residents of the Pine Ridge Reservation, each told the Grand Jury, "I am not a citizen of the United States. I am a citizen of the Great Sioux Nation. Your people signed a Treaty with my people in 1868 ... Right now the chiefs of our nation are in Washington to meet with your president to demand that the United States honor its commitment. I ask you, representatives of the American people, to honor that Treaty today."

Joanne LeDeaux, who has two children, told the Grand Jury she was not an Oglala, but a native American who spoke with the consent of the traditional chiefs and headmen of the Oglala Nation for which she had been working. "As long as the United States Government continues its conspiratorial and physical genocide against Native Americans in general and the Oglala Nation in particular, I will continue to reject any attempt to make me a part or party, a tool in any way, for the further continued repression of a people I love and respect."

Before the Grand Jury convened September 2, lawyers for the three witnesses presented eight motions to the court requesting subpoenas be quashed on serious legal grounds, but U.S. District Judge Andrew Bogue denied the motions without a hearing, and without even seeing the attorneys.

Alfredo Pena, attorney for the Long Visitors, said he felt the contempt charges meant the "government is using Angie and Ivis as scapegoats as an example to other Indians, knowing full well that they have nothing to offer as evidence. The Government knows they will continue to stand on their treaty rights. Yet the Government wants to take them away from their land, their friends, and their family if they refuse to talk, which is not a criminal offense."

The three were given grants of immunity — but they were not signed.

If the court rules against the three witnesses in their contempt hearing, they could be held in jail for the rest of the grand jury term, approximately eleven months.

The Attack on Crow Dog's Paradise

On August 5, American Indian Movement spiritual advisor Leonard Crow Dog received a suspended sentence in Cedar Rapids, Iowa, federal court on charges of aiding and abetting the robbery and detention of four postal inspectors during the Wounded Knee occupation of 1973. (See separate article in this issue for an account of his sentencing.)

Two co-defendants, Carter Camp and Stan Holder, chose not to be present for sentencing, and Judge Edward McManus issued bench warrants for their arrest. All three defendants had been participating in the Sun Dance on Rosebud Reservation until the evening of August 3.

Crow Dog's conviction is under appeal. In the meantime, however, violation of terms of his probation could mean sentencing to jail. The U.S., through R.D. Hurd, had pressed for jail, and officials were visibly disappointed when Crow Dog was not jailed by Judge McManus.

Hurd said the actions of those at Wounded Knee "strike at the very heart of the ability to maintain law and order."

But Government forces weren't going to leave Crow Dog much peace.

Just a month later, September 5, the relatively-peaceful Rosebud Reservation, next to Pine Ridge, became the scene of military maneuvers against native people.

In an early-morning attack, almost one hundred FBI men arrived in four large helicopters, boats, cars, military vehicles, trucks, and vans to roust sleeping residents of Crow Dog's Paradise, a homestead and encampment, and at neighbor Al Running's home.

Combat-clad FBI men surrounded silent houses and tents, shouting, "This is the FBI — Come out with your hands up!" Children were shaken from beds and lined up against the wall. People were not allowed to dress.

The raid netted five arrests on warrants for assault with a deadly weapon, and \$5000 bond was set for each person. Those arrested were Leonard Crow Dog, a Lakota holy man; Gerald Millard, Owen Young, Jr., Al Running, and Frank Running. Running is also charged with possession of a pistol with an altered serial number.

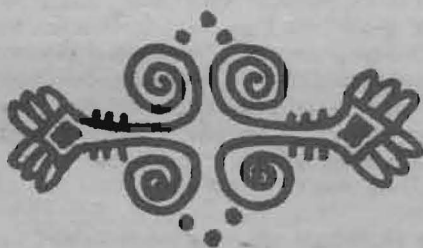
Annie Mae Aquash and Dino Butler are charged with possession of a gun — no bond was set for them immediately.

The incident for which warrants were issued had occurred September 2, when two persons whom those arrested termed "goons", Bob Beak and one McKesson, beat up on Frank Running at 3 a.m., according to witnesses. The two goons returned to the Crow Dog homestead looking for trouble, and were ejected by Frank and Gerald Millard. The intruders then laid a complaint.

During the round-up by the FBI, the homes on the encampment were searched vigorously for hours. An FBI spokesman told the press grimly that "various weapons had been seized" — the official list of evidence, under weapons, included such items as finger-nail clippers, string, a tampon.

Annie Mae Aquash said she had been sleeping in her tent when FBI men awoke her, exclaiming, "Aha — there she is!" She says she had no gun, and that any weapons found must have been planted by the police themselves. While she was held in jail in Pierre, she was questioned at length about past travels and incidents. She says the knowledge the FBI had indicated extensive briefings from AIM-infiltrator/informant Doug Durham.

Five attorneys from the Wounded Knee Legal Defense/Offense Committee in St. Paul, Minnesota, are representing those charged.



The attack force had warrants issued under authority of grand jury indictments, which had been issued in advance of the actual commission of the crime, a new twist in the use of the law. That makes it possible to make the crime fit the person. Rather than for an incident to happen, and then arrests to be made, the government seems to be singling out activists it wants to silence, and then finding possible charges to lay on them.

R.D. Hurd, the assistant U.S. Attorney who seems to want to go down in history as the man who suppressed the American Indian Movement, says that there are at least two hundred persons being considered for grand jury indictment. Although the U.S.' conviction average on previous arrests of native activists has been under

10%, the massive amounts of money, energy, legal talent, worry and defensive maneuvering has caused the native movement great loss — not to mention the human suffering of those who were harassed, beaten, jailed, and tried.



First the Indians — Who's Next?

The paramilitary forces attacking at Wounded Knee, Oglala, and Rosebud are part of a whole new program which U.S. citizens have coming towards them. SWAT squads — Special Weapons and Tactics elite units — consist of five officers, armed to the teeth, and trained in counterinsurgency techniques.

Close to 500 police departments across the U.S. have organized SWAT units, and another 200 departments are waiting to receive the special training at one of several federally-funded training centers.

SWAT teams, like the FBI at Crow Dog's Paradise, carry as standard equipment semi-automatic machine guns, 12-gauge riot shotguns, high-powered sniper rifles with scopes, .45-caliber automatic pistols, tear gas grenades and launchers, and some units have anti-personnel bombs. The team members wear special fatigues with lightweight flak jackets. Mobile command centers stocked with more ammunition, explosives, wrecking gear, and communications equipment round out the individual units.



Indian Fighters Over the Years

Imaginative SWAT squads have even more — one team in suburban Belmont, California, uses Israeli sub-machine guns, silencers on their automatic pistols, and large knives strapped across their chests. In Belvedere, California, a wealthy suburb, SWAT has an Army surplus truck equipped with a .50-calibre machine gun at its disposal. The U.S. Army isn't supposed to be used against U.S. civilians, but with all this, who needs the Army?

Michael Anderson, head of the newly-developed SWAT operation in Michigan, said he placed a high premium on previous military experience in his recruits. "In the military, they pick up discipline, the ability to take an order without fully understanding why," he explained.

Television has played an important role in promoting SWAT by providing life coverage of SWAT shootouts, and by airing a weekly show during prime time with SWAT squad heroes, attractive family-type men fighting the war against crime.

But if you liked SWAT on the tube, you may not be so happy with it in your neighborhood. And that's where it's headed. In the early 1960s, the Pentagon's Joint Chiefs of Staff ordered the U.S. Strike Command to "prepare detailed plans for the deployment of civil disturbance forces." Steep Hill, as the plan came to be known, called for the deployment of troops in the south. In 1964, the plan moved into riot-control training for national guard and local law enforcement officials. In 1967, the U.S. Army made an official policy of loaning military equipment to police forces — and it was after the riots in Watts that the Los Angeles police developed the first SWAT squads as a natural outgrowth.

There are racial overtones to SWAT's orientation. The 72-member Los Angeles unit is all-white. They even play "wargames" on movie-sets at Universal Studios, fighting fake battles with "terrorists, radicals, revolutionaries, and cop-haters," according to SWAT officer Bob Smitson. Like other squads, they are coached in the same command structure, tactics, and terminology as an infantry squad. They study guerilla warfare, scouting, night operations, camouflage and concealment, combat in cities, chemical warfare and ambush.

Imagine being all dressed up with that kind of training and gear and no place to go?

[continued on next page]



Already, 75 persons have been killed by police officers in Los Angeles County in the past eighteen months. Most of the victims were blacks and Chicanos.

The sweetheart arrangement the FBI and BIA have with the goon squad is also a trend in "law enforcement." And it is also heading toward the public at large. The American Civil Liberties Union released a lengthy report recently to the Senate Select Committee on Intelligence telling how the FBI recruited a band of right-wing terrorists and supplied them with money and weapons to attack young anti-war demonstrators. ACLU lawyers also said they had newly-established evidence linking the FBI to at least two San Diego assassination plots.

The San Diego-style goon squad was called the "Secret Army Organization". The FBI has denied having anything to do with it. The ACLU charges that the relationship was the outgrowth of an elaborate inter-agency espionage apparatus organized "at the direction of Richard M. Nixon" early in his administration. The group is alleged to have conducted terrorism, vandalism, espionage, mail theft, bombings, and shootings.

The FBI has already been forced to acknowledge that between May 1968 and April 1971, under the code name Cointelpro, activities such as these were, in fact, conducted, aimed at New Left, Socialist, and Black Panther groups.

Some complicity has already been leaked out tying federal policemen with the goon squad. A BIA policeman has spilled the news that when he was on duty, goons broke into a warehouse of weapons and stole many of them. The BIA policeman in charge ordered his men not to respond to the burglar alarm until time



These are not soldiers — they are federal law enforcement officials in paramilitary uniform at Pine Ridge — your friendly neighborhood SWAT squad in action.

had elapsed to allow an escape.

After the stand-down at the end of the occupation of Wounded Knee, the FBI and federal marshals left high-powered weapons, ammunition, and other war materials for the goon squad and BIA police.

A Mormon church on the reservation was broken into recently — and a cache of arms was stolen.

Jim Little — Stomped to Death by Goons

The latest victim of goon-squad terrorism at Pine Ridge is Jim Little, a popular former councilman who had called for Dick Wilson's impeachment even before the occupation of Wounded Knee in 1973.

On September 10, Little was stomped on by four men, who with fists, boots, and spurs beat him to death.

A woman who witnessed the attack called the BIA police to have the ambulance come to take Little to the hospital, but after waiting and waiting for it to appear, she took him to the hospital, where he was pronounced dead on arrival. The tribal-council controlled ambulance drivers are sometimes goon-squad members.

At first, Dick Wilson had told WKLDOK attorneys there would be no investigation. But someone must have put the pressure on from Washington, because Ken Sayers, a special agent in charge of the BIA police there with a selected group of men made arrests of the four men which WKLDOK investigators had accused of

the killing.

They are Tom Chief Eagle, Joe Bear Robe and his brother, Cecil Bear Robe, and Fred Maribone. They were taken to the Rapid City jail.

It was the nineteenth known slaying at Pine Ridge since January.

Violence As a Way of Life

The goon squad is not altogether invisible — a typical member is a young mixed-blood tough, cruising through town in a late-model pick-up, equipped with two-way radio, sunglasses and cowboy hats completing the uniform.

Among those who have suffered from the violence are the Chester Stone family, and a friend, Louis Tyon, who were savagely sprayed with bullets last November 17, a Sunday, after two days of AIM-Wilson tensions.

On the Friday before the shooting, Stone witnessed Wilson's son, Manny, in a scuffle with an AIM sympathizer. They exchanged words, and Stone became frightened.

Believing his life was in danger, Stone sought protection from the FBI, BIA reservation superintendent Al Trimble, and Wilson himself.

On the Sunday morning of the shooting, according to Mrs. Bernice Stone, Chester's wife, an off-duty BIA police officer named Jesse Trueblood jumped Tyon, an AIM sympathizer, somewhere on the reservation. Later, after Tyon had gone to the Stone home, a second police officer, Jamie Big Crow, stopped by the house to ask about another family friend, Doakes Clifford. Big Crow was soon joined by Trueblood, and the two left without incident.

But then Trueblood returned and opened fire on the house. He sped from the scene, and was found by friends moments later, shot in the back of his head with his own service revolver. Police say he could not have committed suicide, but have made no arrests in his death.

Left behind was Johnny Mousseaux, now 3, Stone's step-grandson, who was so badly maimed in one arm from the shooting that he has not recovered its full use. Mrs. Stone was shot in the buttocks and still has trouble standing for long periods of time. Stone has a permanent eight-inch purple scar under his right arm. Deborah Mousseaux, Stone's step-daughter was shot in the arm, and Tyon was hit in the knee cap.

"It's hurt emotionally more than anything else, realizing what could have happened to all of us. We could have been dead."

Michael DeMersseman, a Rapid City lawyer representing the Stones in a planned civil action against the BIA, says he will raise the issue of whether Trueblood, who had something of a reputation for violent behavior, should have been a policeman at all, and whether proper control was maintained.

The BIA police force at Pine Ridge was characterized by an Interior Department investigating commission as a "patchwork police force... an armed, only slightly controllable faction of the community." The commission discovered that 19 officers on the 46-man force were actually Manpower trainees with no police training, and concluded that only 13 had "proper background investigations and credentials."

On August 1, three non-Indian legal workers were arrested by BIA police working in collusion with the FBI. They were charged with "soliciting as lawyers and practicing a business without a license." The three were released, however, because the BIA has no power to arrest non-Indians, and local and state authorities refused to act on a charge so spurious.

On August 13, after a week or so of relative quiet, the FBI took three helicopters, six FBI cars, and three BIA police cars to the home of Alice Chief Eagle. The Chief Eagles told the agents they were on private property, and should leave unless they had a search warrant. But the agents answered that if the Chief Eagles insisted on a warrant, they would be arrested, and then the agents would search the place anyhow. The search proceeded with the agents saying only that they were looking for two men. They didn't find them.

On August 19, federal officers came to a small group of houses owned by Luke Weasel Bear and asked for Martha Tranquili, an elderly peace activist who was recently released from prison where she served time for refusing to pay taxes to finance the U.S. war machine. The agents claimed "her parole officer wants to see her." Although they were told to leave the property, the agents refused.

Finally, Martha Tranquili emerged from one of the houses, but refused to go with the officers. "Let's have the BIA police arrest her," one agent said. Soon eight BIA police cars came. The local law-and-order committee, formed to deal with police harassment, gathered at the scene also in a standoff, giving the BIA police a long lecture on the meaning of sovereignty. Ken Sayers, who now functions as the BIA's public relations man in regard to police activities and who swings weight among the police force came and called

off the BIA forces, and Martha Tranquili returned to her business.

On August 26, several score of FBI men surrounded the Thunder Hawk home in Porcupine the reservation, where the family was having a memorial feast and giveaway for Angelo Martinez, who died a year ago. The agents pointed their M-16s at the house and yard where over a dozen young children and babies were playing, and demanded to search the house. They had no warrant. They searched the sacred sweat lodge, and



J.S.

forced a medicine man to unroll the wrapping from his sacred pipe to prove it wasn't a gun.

The same day, a car carrying AIM people was surrounded at Sharps Corners and questioned. The next day FBI agents went house-to-house if Kyle and Manderson, but somehow, they never showed up for an appointment they had with Bernice White Hawk to discuss the endless harassment she and her family receive from goon members.

Although the FBI has withdrawn its equipment from Pine Ridge, it continues to maintain a presence on the reservation from offices in Chadron and Rushville, Nebraska, reservation border-towns.

This summer, the United Sioux Tribes, an organization composed of Sioux tribal chairmen, had called for a return to constitutional government at Pine Ridge and an end to the FBI presence there. The officials said they feared a "tremendous overspill effect on other reservations." Their prophecy was coming true at Rosebud, a domino theory in reverse.

Wilson was opposed by Russell Means in his re-election in February, 1974. Although the term is just two years, and although Means filed a court suit charging harassment of voters and various frauds by Wilson supporters, legal delays may make the suit meaningless. The Means case was boosted on August 6 when the 8th U.S. Circuit Court of Appeals ruled that federal courts did have jurisdiction in Indian Reorganization Act-type tribal councils, and ordered Judge Andrew Bogue to try the case.

Bogue had ruled that he lacked jurisdiction in the case. The court said that while tribal councils themselves were immune from suit, individuals were not. It ordered that complaints be heard against Wilson, Glenn Three Stars, Bennie "Tote" Richards, and the Oglala Sioux Election Board. Other causes of action were dismissed, however.

These persons are alleged to have conspired to insure Wilson's re-election by illegal means, and that "in furtherance of this conspiracy, a private, unauthorized police force known as the 'goon squad' was maintained by Wilson which harassed and threatened those who opposed the Wilson administration."

Three Stars is identified as a goon squad leader, and Richards is alleged to be a member.

After investigating the 1974 elections, the U.S. Civil Rights Commission estimated that as many as one-third of the votes may have been improperly cast. The Commission recommended a new election be called by the Secretary of the Interior, but nothing happened.

Means was treated for a head wound after being struck by shattered glass or a bullet on July 28. The incident happened five miles north of Rosebud on a reservation road. Means was a passenger in a vehicle driven by Thomas Poor Bear. His brother, Dale Means, was also a passenger. The wound took eight stitches to close.

"Of course I know who did it," Means told a UPI reporter. "It was a BIA policeman, a Mission town policeman, and a federal informant. Howard John Fuller, a BIA policeman, was with them. He tried to kill me and Curtis Bald Eagle last August in Valentine. He was off duty then."

Means said they chased the car carrying their assailants, but eventually were left behind in a high-speed chase. Means said the BIA and the government were trying to kill him — if not by direct conspiracy, by indirectly creating the circumstances that would make people want to see him dead.

"It's the policy of the Federal Government to assassinate or imprison the leader of any dissident group — It just doesn't happen that I get shot at more often than most people."

Means had been shot earlier this summer by a BIA policeman at Standing Rock Reservation and was hospitalized. Those wounds have become infected, and with Means in poor general health from the strained and unnatural living under pressures. He had to be hospitalized in September, causing an adjournment in his trial in Sioux Falls on charges stemming from the 1974 police riot at the Minnehaha County Courthouse. Means is charged with rioting to obstruct justice and injury to a public building in connection with the April 30, 1974, melee. Similar charges against five other persons, including AIM national field director Vernon Bellecourt, were dismissed May 5 by Circuit Judge Richard Braithwaite, who will hear Means' case. Braithwaite said "an impartial jury cannot be obtained in this county at this time."

One of the actions for which Means recently criticized Wilson was the turning over to the U.S. Government of one-eighth of the reservation. Wilson signed papers on the day the two FBI agents and Joe Stuntz Kills Right were shot. The documents turn land known as Sheep Mountain, or the Badlands, or the Gunnery Range, over to the U.S. Park Service for long-term use, although whether the move would stand up in a court test is doubtful. The land had been appropriated by the U.S. during World War II, but it was to be returned to tribal control.

The exercising of the U.S. trust responsibilities at Pine Ridge is the task of an agency superintendent, but that position is vacant. Although the job pays from \$29,108 to \$38,764 a year, according to BIA Commissioner Morris Thompson, "there is no great hue and cry in the field to say, 'When am I going to Pine Ridge?'"

The last superintendent, Al Trimble, a native of the reservation and a BIA employee for 19 years, was transferred because he ran afoul of Wilson after he refused to steer government contracts to Wilson's gravel-hauling business, or to permit Wilson to select BIA police officers as he had been accustomed to doing.

Trimble has been assigned to Albuquerque, New Mexico, where he draws his pay, but has been given nothing to do.

Oglala Headmen to Meet U.S. Headman

In an effort to stem the reign of terror, to get the FBI forces off the reservation, and to commence the rebuilding of the many-times-over war-torn Lakota Nation, a decision was reached in July to send a

[This is a translation of the letter to U.S. President Gerald Ford from the Traditional Chiefs and Headmen, Oglala Nation of the Teton Sioux, July 26, 1975.]

Greetings. Through this letter we extend a sincere handshake. With this letter we will talk about our Lakota People, our way of life, and our destiny.

With one mind, one body, and one Spirit, we send a voice.

We talk about an agreement between a red nation, through our chiefs, and the white nation, through its United States Government, an agreement in which it was written:

"From this day forward, all wars between the parties to this agreement shall forever cease."

"The Government of the United States desires peace and its honor is hereby pledged to keep it."

"The Indians desire peace and they now pledge their honor to maintain it."

Our Chiefs understood the historic agreement as saying that from this day forward, our people and your people shall no longer fight. That all bad feelings for each other would be no more, as relatives we will hand and hand walk towards a better relationship and strive for a better understanding between two nations.

We understand it as saying this part of the land as prescribed in the Treaty, is set apart for the **"absolute and undisturbed use and occupation of the Indians herein named..."**

Our ancestors tell us that our Chiefs wanted for us, the coming generations,

to live in good health and to multiply as a strong red nation, and thus agreed to the terms of the 1868 Fort Laramie Treaty. At that time, our Chiefs discussed the terms of the Treaty with our people, and after everyone agreed, then the Treaty was signed.

From this day, April 29, 1868, forward, the 1868 Treaty was made law of the land.

Since then, the [U.S.] Government violated the Treaty many times, and we have lost millions of acres of land. We have little land left, with hardly any room to survive as a nation.

But, instead of being content with all the land you have taken from us, you still want what little we have left.

You have interfered with our Lakota way of life, our religion, and the cycle of all life, including all forms of nature, the way of life that our Forefathers wanted for us to live in coming generations, [but] the agreement with your ancestors and your government you have forgotten or ignored, where we still hold sacred and honor the Treaty.

For many winters and many generations, we have suffered under this alien system (1934 Indian Reorganization Act, etc.). And each time we call for a meeting with U.S. Government, you have always responded by sending people from different governmental agencies who have no knowledge, experience, or power to execute an effective program for the benefit of all. No constructive solution ever comes out of these negotiations with your governmental assistants.

Your armies, such as the Federal Bureau of Investigation, Bureau of Indian

delegation to Washington to see U.S. President Gerald Ford. Such a meeting is in accord with agreements under the Fort Laramie Treaty of 1868, which was ratified as U.S. law.

The delegation arrived in Washington from Pine Ridge on August 30. Unlike other visits to the capital, the traditional leaders will not deal with the BIA, but will stay there until they have seen either Ford or Secretary of State Henry Kissinger.

The treaty between the Lakota and the U.S. were negotiated "nation to nation", but in the 1870s, the U.S. Congress unilaterally decided it would no longer recognize native nations. There has never been a constitutional test of this question, for that action interfered with powers granted to the President of the U.S. under the U.S. Constitution authorizing the President to sign such treaties. However, since 1870, there has not been a U.S. President who seemed to very much mind this loss of power.

So far, the White House has not given a written reply to the letter sent on July 24. The delegation has met with the Congress' Black Caucus, and members of the various Indian Affairs subcommittees.

The move had been decided upon at an all-day meeting on July 26 held at Porcupine. The heavy presence of FBI agents and BIA police on the highway near the meeting place disrupted the early part of the session, as people feared they were being surrounded and would be unable to return to their homes. Four young men on their way to the meeting were chased by the FBI, and finally were arrested by BIA police on charges of harassment. Although legal workers appeared with their bail money at 3 p.m., the four were not released until 2:30 a.m.

At the meeting, a letter to U.S. President Gerald Ford was written in the Lakota language, with an English translation.

Although the Presbyterian Church had offered to donate \$10,000 to help the headmen with their travel expenses, objections from local missions caused them to withdraw the offer.

The traditional leaders arrived in Washington on an overcrowded bus, "with hardly a dime to our name." They had been sleeping in bedrolls on floor space provided by a Washington church, and cooking their meals at the church kitchen.

A "People's Welcome" on August 31 by Washington residents brought greetings from the National Lawyers Guild, the D.C. Coalition of Labor Union Women, United Farm Workers, the Friends Committee on National Legislation, a member of the D.C. school board, and representatives of Senator Edward Kennedy and James Abourezk, and the acting chairperson of the D.C. City Council.

A token of recognition came from the U.S. Senate on September 5. Senator James Abourezk nominated Chief Frank Fools Crow to offer the prayer at the convening of the Senate — there are two guest chaplains each month. The prayer was interpreted by Birgil Kills Straight, also of Pine Ridge.

Affairs, State, Federal Law Enforcement, and your people have once again encroached upon and occupied what little land we have left. Armed with sophisticated weaponry, they are killing us off one by one.

Because of all the suffering we have gone through, we have decided that it is our turn to come to Washington as a traditional governing body and as a delegation of our people. We can no longer live under these conditions. We come to meet with you.

We are the chiefs of a sovereign nation and according to our Treaty and your Constitution, we deal only with the highest official in the U.S. Government. You are that man.



President Gerald Ford (right) "doesn't have time" to meet the Oglalas in Washington in regard to life-and-death matters, he seemed to have time to pose on August 30 with five Penobscots and Senator Muskie in Maine, where he was visiting.

In describing the event, if any mention was made at all, the press was careful not to mention anything about the Oglala delegation waiting in Washington to see the President.

The Fools Crow family had been burned out by the goon squad last spring.

The BIA issued a lengthy press statement of welcome to the traditional leaders, but the offer to meet with them was refused. "The President sent his assistants to talk with us, so we sent our assistants to talk with them," Louis Bad Wound, a member of the delegation told Liberation News Service reporters.

The traditional leaders were accompanied by 20 younger Lakotas, mostly American Indian Movement members, who met with representatives of the BIA, Justice Department, and the White House on September 3.

"They told us the President's time was of great essence," one AIM member reported. "That's all that's of essence to him, maybe, but our people are dying right now due to the government's policies, and that's what's important to us. They were afraid we were going to waste the President's time."

President Ford was picketed by 40 native and Chicano demonstrators when he arrived in Seattle on September 4 for a youth conference. The protesters demanded that Ford return to Washington to meet with the Oglala delegation there.

The prime demand is the return of traditional government to the Oglalas. The decentralized, consensus-seeking government was displaced forcefully in the 1930s by the Indian Reorganization Act, which installed a chairman and a tribal council who were accountable to the Secretary of the Interior, rather than the people. Most of the council's powers were picayune, and the U.S. maintained most of the controls. This form of inferior democracy leads regularly to election fraud, patronage, bureaucracy, and more recently, violence.

Most traditional Lakota never recognized the new government, although the U.S. says it is the only one it will deal with. There is a legal paradox in that the U.S. says it recognizes treaties made before the 1870s, and the Sioux treaty of 1868 requires 3/4 of the adult male membership to ratify changes, but that has never happened in regard to the new form of government.

Of more immediate concern is the reign of terror at Pine Ridge. "The situation at Pine Ridge exceeds the wildest imagination of most Americans," says Silo Black Crow, recalling that an FBI agent once held a loaded M-16 rifle to his belly, and that his house had been entered and ransacked by tribal chairman Dick Wilson's private police.

"They keep saying we're two factions at Pine Ridge," Larry Red Shirt, an organizer for the delegation said. "The U.S. supports Wilson, not the people — it is a struggle of the traditional Oglala People vs. the United States of America."

The Oglala Sioux language rolled out over the United States Senate yesterday as Chief Frank Fools Crow, holy man of his tribe and guest chaplain for the day, delivered a prayer for peace and understanding. His appearance was arranged by Senator James Abourezk, Democrat of South Dakota and the prayer was translated by Virgil Kills Straight, an Oglala Sioux.

This is the way the New York Times ("All The News That's Fit To Print") handled the Oglala delegation of headmen waiting in Washington to see President Ford on the urgent matters at Pine Ridge:



WOUNDED KNEE

An automobile carrying a group of American Indian Movement members, including Dennis Banks' wife and infant child, burst into flames and exploded while it was travelling down the

Kansas Turnpike September 10.

The group was enroute to Shawnee, Oklahoma. Robert Eugene Robideaux was taken to hospital, where he remained under heavy guard. His eyes have permanent damage from the blast, which police blamed on a "faulty exhaust". Police said Robideaux walked away from a work program at the Oregon State Penitentiary in 1973, and an extra \$50,000 bond was added to the \$75,000 bail imposed on all those arrested after the explosion.

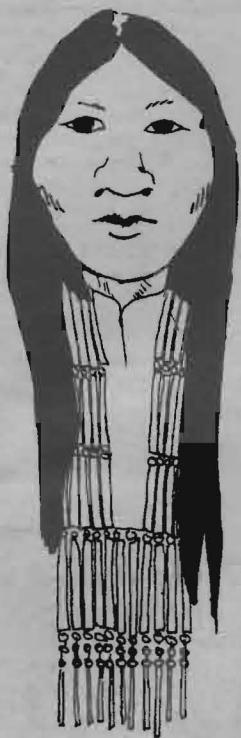


Secret service and federal agents just happened to be around to make the arrests. The U.S. Attorney for Kansas, Edward Johnson, said he had been informed the Indian group was a special "cadre", part of a force of some 40,000 persons supposedly enroute to Oklahoma to assassinate either U.S. President Gerald Ford or vice-president Nelson Rockefeller.

Officials announced that one youth, David Jones, had been released. Actually, his name was Mike Anderson, a 16-year-old Navajo, and he was held as a juvenile for intense interrogation by federal agents.

Others held were Darlene Kamook Nichols, Bernie Nichols, and Kenneth Desmarais, 22, of Pine Ridge; Jack One Feather of Rosebud, and a woman not yet officially an adult.

Curiously, press attention was scanty except in the immediate area, where headlines screamed "Killer Rifle Recovered", meaning that the bombed car contained the gun used to kill the FBI agents at Oglala June 26. While the fine-print quoted FBI agent Bill Williams as saying that the only thing that the rifle had in common with a gun missing from the car of the dead agents was that it was made by the same manufacturer — Remington. However, coupled with mention of hand grenades, explosives, and other weapons, the headlines had made the link-up in the minds of Kansas readers.



There will be a hearing September 19. The already spread-out Wounded Knee Legal Defense/Offense Committee appealed for additional lawyers to help with the hearings and defense.

On September 12, a massive police raid of FBI, Secret Service, state and local officials swooped down on the farm of Martin Thomas at White Oak, Oklahoma, the scene of the 1973 American Indian Movement convention. Although the farm is in Craig County, sheriff's deputies from Tulsa County accompanied the impressive force.

Officials claimed that the farm had a large marijuana planting, and a said they had found a 30-gallon bag of

marijuana. News stories also quoted officers as saying they had found automatic weapons, and a "fully-operative field hospital" hidden on the farm.

The news story was linked with the Kansas arrests.

AIM officials said the "field hospital" was a tent left over from an encampment from the Seneca Indian School which used the farm last year.

In an unrelated incident at Taos, New Mexico, police arrested three men — Homer James Thunder Hawk, 24, of Pine Ridge; Dwayne Matthews, 22, of Muskogee, Oklahoma; and Jim Harjo, 28, of Oklahoma City — in connection with a shooting which hospitalized a Questa, New Mexico, couple.

They were arrested with a juvenile girl at a roadblock near the Colorado border, and police claim they found an American Indian Movement banner, AIM literature, gas masks, blasting caps, and guerrilla warfare handbooks in the vehicle.

The arrest came August 22, and the men were held for trial on charges of auto theft, attempted murder, possession of deadly weapons, and kidnapping.

Dennis Banks Chooses Freedom

In mid-August, Dennis Banks was to receive a long jail sentence after being convicted by an all-white jury for rioting and assault in connection with the burning of the Custer Courthouse in 1973. The case had been personally prosecuted by the state's attorney general, William Janklow.

But Banks did not show up for the sentencing. He was declared a fugitive "from justice", a \$10,000 bond was revoked, and a bench warrant for his arrest was issued.



While there was a great deal of testimony describing the fracas and fires that broke out after a demonstration was protesting the lack of vigor in prosecuting a white man who had stabbed an Indian youth, Wesley Bad Heart Bull, there was little mention of Banks in the evidence. The prosecution seemed satisfied to prove there had been a riot, and that Banks had been in Custer that day.

A battle between demonstrators and riot police broke out when Sarah Bad Heart Bull, the youth's mother, was prevented from entering the courthouse to confer with officials. The chamber of commerce building was destroyed by fire, and the courthouse and a business were damaged. Two police cars were trashed.

At the trial, three defense witnesses — Eugene White Hawk, Fred Zephier, and LaNada Boyer — refused to give their testimony. They said they were afraid of arrest or harassment if they did. Banks moved for a mistrial on the grounds that he could not conduct his defense if witnesses refused to testify, but Judge Young refused the motion.

Wherever Banks is, his many friends and supporters recognize him as a man who picked up his responsibilities as a leader of his people when his leadership was needed. He has conducted that chore and privilege seriously for quite some years now. Often, he has suggested that others take over AIM leadership so that he could return to the northwoods to live with the land there. Whether others will pick up the challenge now remains to be seen — but Dennis Banks goes into safety with many well-wishers hoping that all will be peaceful with him.

Yankton Seven Trials to Start

The Wounded Knee Legal Defense/Offense Committee is also handling the cases of the Yankton Seven — Sioux men who occupied a pork processing plant on their reservation after peaceful means of dealing with serious grievances failed.

Besides the state charges of burglary, grand larceny, and assault with a dangerous weapon without intent to kill in connection with the takeover, each of the defendants also faces federal charges of assault with a dangerous weapon with intent to do bodily harm and breaking and entering with intent to commit a felony. No one was injured during the occupation.

A trial date has been set for September 16.

The tourist boycott of South Dakota called by the American Indian Movement is still in effect. Tourists have been urged not to travel in South Dakota.



Checks should be made out to the Wounded Knee Legal Defense/Offense Committee and marked for Oglala Defense. For tax exemption, checks should be made out to the Harry Wright Memorial Fund, but should be sent to the above address.

Also, remember that almost all news about native people in South Dakota is being withheld from the people of the U.S. and the world. Leafletting, demanding attention from networks and local media, putting on benefits and other fund-raising events are all important. Local groups should organize around this purpose immediately.

Funds, support, legal workers, attorneys, and other assistance is needed. In addition, letters expressing support and solidarity with the Oglala People will be taken to the reservation and the people, to give them encouragement during these difficult times.

Contact:

Wounded Knee Legal
Defense/Offense Committee
801½ Fairview
Rapid City, South Dakota 57701
or telephone (605) 348-4393

At all state hearings to date there have been at least 12 carloads of state troopers, equipped with full riot gear, patrolling the doorways and hallways of the courthouse.

The pork plant was planned in the early 1970s as a joint venture between the Yankton Sioux Tribe and white businessman Melvin Rosenthal. Tribe members had understood the project would benefit the Indian community, but Rosenthal managed to gain control of 80% of the voting stock. Rosenthal failed to meet an agreement to have at least 85% of his employees native people, and instead of following the agreement to have a Yankton Sioux as corporation vice-president, Rosenthal installed his son in that office.

The Yankton group charges that the packing plant is on the verge of bankruptcy despite the payment of minimum wages to skilled workers — Rosenthal reportedly draws a \$45,000 annual salary.

On March 17, people of the community began a three-day peaceful negotiation of the contract, and they demanded improved working conditions, better wages, and the hiring of more Indians. At the time of the occupation, only five of the 63 workers at the plant were Indian people.

Although the occupation forced Rosenthal to sign a new agreement, he later repudiated it, saying it had not been approved by the corporate board which he controls.

The single arrest resulting from the takeover did not come until May, when Yankton member Greg Zephier, now out on bond, was charged with extortion by threats and violence affecting interstate commerce, a charge usually reserved for organized crime cases.

That arrest touched off a second occupation of the plant on May 2 by the seven men now awaiting trial. The occupation lasted 16 hours, and ended when the seven were driven from the plant by tear gas.

During the takeover, martial law was declared in the town of Wagner, with members of the National Guard, state police, and Bureau of Indian Affairs police present.

On June 7, the seven Sioux men were placed in solitary confinement in the South Dakota State Penitentiary, although they had not yet been brought to trial. Their legal defense group noted, "This outrageous treatment makes a mockery of the 'presumption of innocence' basic to our legal system. The fact that it is allowed to exist within our legal system threatens the constitutional rights of all Americans."

For six weeks prior to their escape, the men were held in 6x10 cells with solid doors and only a tiny ventilation window. They ate alone in their cells, and were allowed a half-hour exercise period daily. They were handcuffed when brought to the visiting room.

None of the group has significant prior criminal records.

On July 17, they were transferred to the county jail in Lake Andes, South Dakota, and on July 26, five of them — Mark Winkler, Mike Weston, Don Cournoyer, Codwen Weston, and Jim Weddell — escaped.

State, county, and local law enforcement personnel engaged in a massive manhunt for the five free young men.

A police spokesman said someone apparently broke into the courtroom in the new Charles Mix County law enforcement complex and got a key to the cells. Then, while deputies were out on a police call, the jail was entered, the cells unlocked, and the defendants took their freedom.

Two days later, two of them were arrested on the Yankton Sioux reservation, and the following day, two turned themselves in to a tribal judge. One, Jim Weddell, remains free, and the other two men did not choose to escape.

The seven have maintained all along that since the occupation took place on tribal land, they should be tried by a tribal judge, or at the least, in federal courts.

The two men who didn't escape, Jesse Costello and Mike Honomichi, were later released on their own recognizance, and bond was reduced to \$5,000 for the others. They are charged with grand larceny and third degree burglary at a pre-trial hearing on August 13.

After the youths had surrendered to him, Sioux Tribal Judge Leonard Hare, Jr., said that state and federal officers had caused him "direct conflict with my duty to enforce the law, and my duty to preserve peace and order." He said his experience and study indicated he had jurisdiction over the defendants, but "were I to assert the jurisdiction which is lawfully mine, state and federal officers would deny our tribe's sovereignty, invade our reservation, and seize these men from my custody by force and the display of arms. Faced with such a threat and menace gravely endangering the peace and order of this reservation, I have decided that it would be foolish to try to assert my lawful jurisdiction."

Judge Hare said that he had to back off "in the interest of public peace and safety, under conditions of severe duress." He said that if he acted lawfully, "state and federal agents might well cause blood to flow." Hare signed an affidavit describing the invasion of his courtroom, and stated that he had informed the officers their arrests were illegal, and of "my vigorous protest and objection to their actions."

Meanwhile, more information has emerged on the FBI relationship with admitted informant Bernie Morning Gun, who was introduced to a college audience by Vernon Bellecourt in June to tell of his activities.

Morning Gun said he was first contacted by the FBI in Missoula, Montana, in November, 1974. Prior to that time, he was instrumental in establishing AIM chapters in Missoula and Seattle, Washington. That first contact was made by FBI agent Joseph Venkus. Later, Morning Gun moved to Billings where he was employed by the Montana Indian Commission on Alcohol and Drug Abuse.



— UPI photo
Bernie Morning Gun . . . a new identity

In March, Morning Gun moved to Minneapolis to assume a position on AIM's National Speaker's Bureau. He said when he arrived there, special agent Lloyd Johnson contacted him and requested routine information about the AIM organization in eastern Montana. "I felt that at this time if I was going to provide information, I might as well get paid for it," Morning Gun said he met with Johnson on March 17 at a businessmen's luncheon establishment called the Showboat in St. Paul.

"This is when I told him I would need some money," Morning Gun said. "He asked me how much. I told him \$500, and I told him I needed it as soon as possible. He called me the next day. We had another meeting at the Showboat. He gave me five \$100 bills" and as might be expected, the money was in a plain brown envelope.



Morning Gun said Johnson told him to find out whatever he could about the tactics planned by the defense in Vernon Bellecourt's trial in Sioux Falls, South Dakota.

Morning Gun went to Sioux Falls, but failed to gain entrance to a meeting of the Wounded Knee Legal Defense/Offense Committee.

"Johnson called me April 2," Morning Gun recalls. "He asked for a meeting to discuss what went on in Sioux Falls. I met him at the Showboat. We talked about an hour or an hour and a half. There was a woman with him — I think her name was Henrietta Solinsky. She was writing things down and asking questions. They wanted to know what I knew about Vernon going to Paris. I told them I didn't think he'd be going to Europe. They wanted me to talk to Vernon to find out why he was going to Europe, and who his contacts were."

For 2½ weeks, Morning Gun said he was not contacted the agents. He said he continued to work at the AIM office. Then on April 22, he was called again by Johnson, who wanted a report on the daily activities of Clyde Bellecourt and Bill Means, brothers of defendants Russell Means and Vernon Bellecourt.

"During the conversation, they also wanted to know what I knew about Marlon Brando thinking about putting up bail money for the defendants," Morning Gun said. He asked to meet the agents, as usual, at the Showboat. "I asked them for \$1,000 at that meeting."

"They wanted more information on how AIM was getting guns and where the money was coming from. They told me they'd see what they could do about the \$1,000."

Morning Gun said the agents also wanted information on Artley Skenadore of St. Paul, former director of AIM's St. Paul office. He said he arranged to stay with Skenadore in St. Paul. "I got one phone call on May 25. They called and said we could talk about the money. They said they didn't know if they could pay me in cash — they suggested that they put it in a bank for me."

Morning Gun said he met twice that day with Johnson and the woman at an establishment called the Blue Chip. At the second meeting, Morning Gun said, "they paid me \$1,000 in \$100 bills. Everything they paid me was with these \$100 bills — they were stiff, like they just came out of a bank. I had found out that Vernon was leaving for Paris on June 8. I told the agents this."

About June 14, I found out that the national AIM office had found out I was working for the FBI," Morning Gun said. He said he told Johnson at their last meeting in St. Paul that he was leaving the city. He arrived in Missoula, Montana, on June 15, where he was contacted by FBI agent Alfred Murphy. "We went over the past year's activities," Morning Gun said. He told Murphy that AIM might have a death warrant out for him. "I wanted to see what kind of protection I could get from Mr. Murphy. We had a long discussion. He wanted to know could I still provide information about weapons."

[This letter to AKWESASNE NOTES was received from Wakpala, South Dakota.]

Dear Brothers and Sisters:

Your help is urgently needed to assist a native brother, Robert High Eagle, who was convicted of riot in Custer, S.D., last year.

As you remember, there were three persons convicted at the same trial. The other two persons, Sarah Bad Heart Bull and a white man [who came to her defense] have both been

paroled.

Show your support to this warrior who was defending his people and is now being held as a political prisoner in the South Dakota Penitentiary at Sioux Falls.

Write to:
Arthur Canary,
Executive Director of
Pardons and Paroles
110 E 10th St.
Sioux Falls, S.D.

or
Jeremiah Murphy
Boyce-Greeley Bldg.
Suite 355
Sioux Falls, S.D.

Ask them to seriously consider Robert High Eagle for a pardon or parole.

— Alonzo John

Morning Gun says he was then offered \$5,000 to get information on guns and then go underground. He said the FBI could give him protection, a new identity, and would ship him to another part of the country. "He asked me if I had any information on National Guard armory break-ins in California and Washington. He said the FBI also believed AIM was getting guns from Canada."

The U.S. has an arrangement with large firms such as General Motors through which informers receive good jobs in distant locations. According to the *Wall Street Journal*, there is a "fairly widespread practice of some big American multinational corporations finding jobs for U.S. Government informers in out-of-the-way corners of their operations here and abroad."

He said he didn't meet with Murphy again until after the shooting of the two FBI agents at Oglala. "We met July 6. He asked me if I knew anyone involved with the shooting. I told him I didn't want to deal with the FBI anymore."

After Morning Gun made these public disclosures to a seminar on Indian culture at Carroll College, he declined comment on his address or plans. "After this, I'm going underground."

About 100 persons marched the 140 miles from Olympia to Portland in six days to have a face-to-face meeting with the area director of the BIA. They said their effort was to protest the "campaign of war and aggression against the Indian people being waged by the U.S. Government against the Indians of the Pine Ridge and Rosebud reservations in South Dakota."

The march camped in a Portland park for four days, but the campsite was not very secure from the hostilities of local rednecks, and a decision was made to move to a safer site at another park. En route through Portland, the march was blocked off, forcing it to detour left, leading it to the Interior Department building where a spontaneous decision was made to occupy the building. Over three hundred persons stayed in the building for about 24 hours, when a decision was made that the people had more important work to do than to spend time sitting in jail, and they left peacefully.

During the encampment, Sid Mills, director of SAIA, received a letter from the Bureau of Indian Affairs that their demands had received "very prompt, thorough consideration," but that "we feel that no other actions are appropriate at this time."

The agency denied that there were U.S. military personnel involved. It admitted that the FBI had "obtained equipment from the Dakota National Guard . . . pursuant to applicable statutes and regulations."

In what must be sheer mockery, it said the FBI was at Pine Ridge investigating violations of Federal Law, and that if people had complaints to make about FBI conduct, they should "be brought to the attention of the Department of Justice, Civil Rights Division, and appropriate action will be taken."

That will probably not be comforting to Stan Star, who was beaten by goons on July 29. He suffered a broken arm, was stabbed in his head, and a large cross was carved into the top of his head. His upper lip was nearly severed, he lost five teeth, and he was unable to open his eyes for a week. His tormentors dumped him off at the hospital in Pine Ridge, and later called back to see how he was doing. So far, there has been no investigation, and none seems to be pending.

What the U.S. has done is to give the status quo reinforcements. The BIA police are happy with their sixteen new vehicles, and a whole new set of gear for the 49-man force, including belts, weapons, handcuffs, and firearms. A new \$1-million jail and courthouse are being planned.

According to the new special officer-in-charge, Kent Sayres of Turtle Mountain, Pine Ridge "isn't that bad — it's just getting bad press."

[Thanks to Mary Walton of the Philadelphia Inquirer, John T. Dauner of the Kansas City Star, the Bugle American, Paula Giese, Natasha Friar, WBAI, Survival of American Indians Assn., Oglala Communications Center, Marjorie Marshall, Lyn Gladstone of the Rapid City Journal, Liberation News Service, Candy Hamilton, Tim Butz, James Robins and the Associated Press, Ralph Barzditis of the Helena Independent Record, and Jay Barker for information used here.]



[This essay was sent to us by Richard Erdoes, author of *Lame Deer, Seeker of Visions*, and a good friend of AKWESASNE NOTES.]

I had flown in from New Mexico to tell the judge on August 5 why Crow Dog should not be sentenced, that Crow Dog, the friend of a lifetime, is a medicine man who went to Wounded Knee to heal the sick and to perform religious ceremonies. I hope to be able to tell the judge what it means to be a Sioux Holy Man, but then, I am a romantic fool who never learns.

The courthouse is square, gray, large and gloomy. It is part of a larger building, the post office, equally gray and gloomy. Crow Dog was accused of aiding and abetting in the robbery of four postal inspectors, who must have felt right at home in the courthouse.

Cedar Rapids, in the middle of the corn-and-bible belt, was the U.S. Government's choice of a trial site. The trial, from the beginning of the jury selection to the moment when the all-white jury brought in their verdict of guilty, was rushed through in under four days. It earned the presiding judge, the Honorable Edward McManus, the nickname "Speedy Eddie". The defense had the help of an expert in jury selection to make shrewd guesses whether a juror is free enough from prejudices to make a decision based on the evidence. The expert found he was not needed — "The jurors were not only all alike, spoke alike, thought alike and acted alike, they even looked alike — it was like looking at a basketful of white, hard-boiled eggs. There was nothing to choose there." Besides, lawyers were not allowed to question the jury.

At the trial, the postal inspectors contradicted each other. One did not remember Crow Dog. Another remembered him from a picture in the *Washington Post* which research will show never appeared in that paper. One said they had been disarmed before meeting Crow Dog, another said Crow Dog had taken a gun from him. Testimony implicating Crow Dog was different from the written reports made to superiors immediately after the alleged incident. When Crow Dog took his oath on the Sacred Pipe instead of the King James Bible, a man who had been a prospective juror exclaimed audibly, "He doesn't believe in our Lord Jesus Christ!" Crow Dog's lawyers did not dignify the ludicrous trial by stating their case. The jury quickly took a straw vote. The story is that the foreman asked, "Who thinks they are guilty?" and twelve hands went up.

Now at the sentencing, Crow Dog is wearing his long black hair loose and unadorned. He carries his sacred pipe. His family and friends have come with him. We are searched by means of an electronic gadget which squeaks like a dying rabbit. It squeaks and squeaks until we empty our pockets of dimes and nickels, take off our glasses, and remove our belt-buckles. Crow Dog's little daughter, Ina, is spread-eagled — she already has her hands raised in the air as the gadget is passed up and down her sides and legs. She is only eleven years old, but she knows the search routine by heart. Little Pedro is two years old — he was born inside Wounded Knee during the occupation — and the squeaker is slapped against his diaper. You can never tell them tricky Injuns — maybe the child carries a bomb. How they are afraid of us, afraid of even a two-year-old.

The third floor. Courtroom. Heavily paneled in dark wood. More gloomy inside than out. The courtroom is full — three white friends, about a dozen Indian supporters, and a huge crowd of menopausal Iowans come to see the Indians get their just deserts. I sit in the second row, next to a cadaverous man with a red-veined nose. He shifts his pale, almost colorless eyes toward me. "Now we're going to get them red sons-a-bitches," he whispers. He studies Frances Schreiber, Stan Holder's lawyer. "Indian-lovin' bitch — look at the weird hairdo." I can see nothing weird about Frances' hair, and tell him so. He gives me a sour look. "There are

5,000 dames in this town I'd rather ball than a smart New York broad like that." I tell him she's from San Francisco. He is annoyed at me, and shifts his attention to Ken Tilsen, Crow Dog's lawyer. "Look at the shyster! A Jewboy from New York." I tell him Ken is from St. Paul, and judging from his name, a Swede. He is really hurt now. "Which side are you on?" I tell him, and he challenges me to step outside. I decline, and move to another row.

their hands on their heads while the Indians searched them and took their guns away. (Ina, spread-eagled, hiding neither guns nor handcuffs, searched at the squeaker. . .)

Ken Tilsen speaks on Crow Dog's behalf. Ken Tilsen would like to put me on the stand. I have come 2,000 miles. I have known Crow Dog for many years. I could explain to the judge why Crow Dog went to Wounded Knee, why he should not be imprisoned. McManus

The Sentencing of Leonard Crow Dog

"Hear ye, hear ye, hear ye!" The Honorable Edward McManus enters briskly ("Speedy Eddie?") in a hurry to get things done and over with. He looks small on his dais, white-haired, expressionless, bored, removed. At the prosecution's table, Mr. Richard Hurd, assistant U.S. Attorney from Sioux Falls, is resplendent in canary-yellow trousers and a sky-blue jacket. He is cheerful. This court and this city is congenial to Mr. Hurd — not like St. Paul and Judge Nichol who castigated Hurd for almost 90 minutes for the U.S. misconduct, for lying, for bringing tainted witnesses. He is unabashed and undismayed, the kind of person who cannot be shamed because he is shameless.

A hitch develops. Crow Dog's two co-defendants have not shown up. McManus orders the court recessed for one hour to give them time to appear. Everybody goes out for a Coke or a cup of coffee.

The hour passes. Filing back into court, we again pass the squeaker. Little Ina again spreads her arms to be searched. Tiny Pedro's winces as again his diapers once more come under scrutiny.

"Hear ye, hear ye, hear ye!" Stan Holder and Carter Camp have not shown up. There is a rumor that Dennis Banks at Custer, South Dakota, has likewise declined to appear. Some say

declines to hear me: "I already have a letter from the gentleman."

(I think of an old Viennese story: "The common Austrian soldier laughs three times when someone tells him a joke — first when he hears it, secondly when it is explained to him, and thirdly when he finally understands it. The officer laughs only twice — when he hears it and when it is explained to him, because he won't understand it anyhow. But the general laughs only once, when he hears it, because he will never understand and he will not let anybody explain anything to him — ever.")

Ken Tilsen makes a number of motions for dismissal and retrial. They are all denied. He has some 25 letters from authors, artists, educators, publishers, anthropologists, actors, a TV personality, one presidential advisor on Indian Affairs and law. They all write from personal knowledge and acquaintance with Crow Dog. They all have something to say about his role as spiritual leader, as a medicine man, as a healer, as someone who is building a bridge of understanding between the races. The judge does not want to listen. He has letters in his files, he says — anything further is unnecessary. Tilsen reads them anyhow — that is, he reads excerpts, goaded by the judge's impatience. The judge is visibly bored. He assumes the attitude of a long-suffering



— Richard Erdoes photo

Leonard Crow Dog . . . "300 years of suspended sentence"

they heard it on the radio. A great shaking of heads among the court officials. How can Indians be so distrustful of American justice?

The man in the canary-yellow pants gets up, gloating like a boxer before a bout he is sure to win. Crow Dog is a danger to our American way of life. He must be put away. Hurd implores the judge to sentence Crow Dog to jail. He dwells on the humiliation of the poor postal inspectors, who had to stand there with

indulgent Great White Father. He half turns his back on the defense, staring vacantly at a horizon visible only to him.

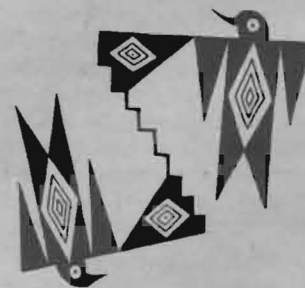
Ken Tilsen says, "I know my client to be innocent of these charges and the prosecution also knows that he is innocent."

The man in the yellow pants smiles, enjoying himself. He gets up and starts a long, ranting, vicious tirade. He shouts

that Wounded Knee "strikes at the very heart of the ability to maintain law and order." He tells the judge that being a medicine man does not set Crow Dog apart from others, as if he would know. He tells the judge that Crow Dog is not a peaceful man, but is under indictment for having attacked a man (suspected as a CIA agent) with a tomahawk. The case has not been tried yet, but the Ken Tilsen's objection is overruled. Hurd fails to mention that Crow Dog was attacked by white hoodlums in his own house. And a tomahawk — shades of James Fenimore Cooper!

Tilsen is angry. He calls Hurd "a liar who deceives this court." It is like water off a duck's back. After St. Paul, no further disclosures could disturb this man. Words and opinions no longer hurt him. He is known for what he is and accepts that fact. No matter how dirty the case, his glo-color pants will remain impeccable and well-pressed.

It is now McManus' turn. The guilt of the defendant has been established by the jury's verdict, he says. Crow Dog is guilty of aiding and abetting, of interfering with a federal official, of robbery. McManus has something to say about Wounded Knee — he calls it "a violent insurrection going beyond the non-violent approach to social injustice." In one or two sentences, he deplores the poverty and problems of the Indians. He then sentences Crow Dog to the maximum three years for "interference" and to eight years for "robbery". Eric, a white friend of Crow Dog who has come all the way from Oregon to be here, bursts into tears. Some of the Indian spectators weep.



After having thrown his thunderbolt, McManus now wants to show what a fair-minded man he is. Crow Dog, he says, is a borderline case because he is a spiritual leader. No getting around this — there are all these letters, and Crow Dog has no previous offenses, and after all he did show up for the court when the others didn't. McManus, the all-merciful, therefore releases Crow Dog on five years probation.

Tilsen announces an appeal of the case. Hurd looks disappointed. The case is closed — as far as the court is concerned.

Outside the courtroom, Diane, Crow Dog's sister, sings a Lakota Brave Heart song and puts sacred red face paint on his cheeks and forehead. Tears make it hard for her to finish the song. Crow Dog's wife, Mary, who gave birth inside Wounded Knee during the siege, embraces him, weeping.

Then comes an hour with the probation officer who, among other things, forbids Crow Dog to "consort with militant-Indian types" — are there any non-militant Indians left to consort with?

Seeing Crow Dog walk out of the courthouse into the sunshine gave his supporters and friends a brief feeling of elation, a feeling of victory.

But things are not that simple. The FBI has implored the Justice Department to go on prosecuting Indians on ever-new charges, regardless of the outcome. This, in the opinion of the FBI, makes their job of control and surveillance that much easier. Win or lose, jail or probation, the U.S., by perpetual prosecution, manages to hamstring the Indian movement, to tie up leaders, time, energy, money.

Crow Dog tells them: "We Indians have been on suspended sentence and probation for 300 years. We were here long before the wasicun came with their court houses and jail houses and mad houses. We will still be here when all these things have long gone."

AN AKWESASNE NOTES EDITORIAL = = =

The situation on the Pine Ridge Reservation of the Lakota has reached such proportions of violence and terrorism that the real issues at play have become confused and, to most observers, mystifying. One editor of a national native publication has gone so far as to suggest that the major problems on that strife-torn territory concerns the presence of two extremist forces, the Wilson Administration and the American Indian Movement [AIM]. His is the widely-held view that if these two factions were to leave, all would be well at Pine Ridge.

Unfortunately, the conditions which produce and define the conflict on Pine Ridge neither are simple nor are they the products of antagonisms between two specifically-identifiable groups.

A myth exists in the United States which states that the injustices to the native people were committed in another age, and that people today carry no responsibility for what was done generations ago. As a matter of fact, the famous Sioux Wars of the 19th Century were not the result of unprovoked Indian attacks on wagon trains, or the unbridled ambitions of George Armstrong Custer to the presidency of the United States. Rather the Oglala Nation in 1860 occupied territory which eastern business interests wished to cross for the purpose of trade and which also help promise as a source of natural resources. Custer invaded Oglala territory in order to "protect" white adventurers, merchants, miners, and cattlemen who had already invaded the area in search of wealth.

The Oglalas, under such able patriots as Crazy Horse and Sitting Bull, had been so successful in repelling the invasion of their lands and integrity that they did not succumb quickly to the normal strategies of non-military colonial control: missionaries and merchants. Instead, and against tremendous odds, they stood in defense of their lands and, as importantly, their way of

life — they understood very well that both were under attack at the same time. That attack extended even to the buffalo which, having little exploitable commercial value (as opposed to domestic animals which are bred exclusively for exploitable commercial value) were systematically slaughtered. The destruction of the buffalo destroyed the economy of the Plains People while at the same time clearing the land for the use of cattle.

The process of invasion of territory for commercial purposes as illustrated in the case of the Oglala Sioux should teach us two lessons: that the process has a number of interlocking features intended to force peoples to dependency upon (in this case) the U.S. economy, including Christianization, education, and colonial government. Secondly, and perhaps most important, the process is harmful — even deadly — to human beings.

The results have been the Great Sioux Wars culminating in the massacre at Wounded Knee in 1890. The longer range results have been the leasing by the Bureau of Indian Affairs of Oglala lands to ranchers to the total impoverishment of the Oglala people, and the extraordinary rates of alcoholism and violence which are the godchildren of the despair which resulted. Another result is the abject dependence experienced by a people forced from their own lands and economies to conditions of hopelessness. The major industry at Pine Ridge today appears to be the local BIA government which replaced the U.S. Army as the method of maintaining the status quo, i.e., the domination of Oglala lands by white ranchers.

Thus are the injustices to the native people of the past also the injustices of the present. The argument is urged upon us that whatever the process, the Oglalas are materially better off under the present system than

they ever were or ever would have been left of their own devices. Against that moral argument stands the stark reality of the brutal goon squads, the terrorism and assassinations, the dead and orphaned, the suicides and murders which are the everyday experience of the people living on Pine Ridge. The "benefits" of U.S. life were established by force for the purpose of exploiting Oglala lands and people — it is maintained by force for the same purpose and it is destroying people here and in communities throughout the world.

The American Indian Movement arose as a response to the conditions of the native people. AIM proposed that the lands and the traditional ways should be returned to the people. To western people, who have a long history of enslaving and impoverishing other people, this may sound idealistic. In fact, it is the process of enslavement — be that defined by chains or the destruction of economies and institution of welfare states — that causes the impoverishment of a people. That the Oglala people do not have control of their own lands is not a product of their own misdeeds — it was and is a product of U.S. policy implemented by the BIA. That a Wilson regime exists on Pine Ridge is not the result of the internal corruption of the Oglala people, but rather the result of monetary and military support of the United States Government.

The situation at Pine Ridge will find no solution in the simple elimination of the leaders of AIM or the replacement of the Wilson regime. The problems and the misery have far deeper roots than the peculiarities of the personalities involved, and the possible results are basically two in number — either the lands and the ways of life (the two are inseparable) are returned to the Oglala people, or the conditions at Pine Ridge will remain basically as they are. Either AIM (in one form or another) and the Oglala people, or Wilson (under one name or another) and the BIA and the White Ranchers will prevail.

There are no other real possibilities. That is the real lesson of Pine Ridge.

TIDBITS

Minority social work students interested in social work research may qualify for doctoral fellowships. Contact: CSWE Minority Fellowships, Council on Social Work Education, 345 East 46th St., New York, N.Y. 10017.

Eastern Montana College has 200 Indian students, Upward Bound, Career opportunities, Teacher Corps — and needs a Coordinator of Indian Culture. Master's Degree required. Contact: Harold McCleave, Academic Vice President, Eastern Montana College, Billings, Montana 59101.

Cochise College has an active Native Indian Studies Program for persons with a highschool education, a general education diploma, or over 19 years of age. There are also programs in museum work and archeology geared to native interests. The college is eager to be of service to native students. Contact: Richard D. Myers, Cochise College, Douglas, Arizona 85607.

The 7th annual contest for minority writers, including American Indians, for manuscripts for children's books — picture book, story, poetry, fiction, non-fiction, and relevant to struggles for liberation will close on December 31. Contact: Council on Interracial Books for Children, 1841 Broadway, New York, N.Y. 10023.

All persons who would like to see a native American run for president in 1976 are asked to contact Glenn C. Johnson, 738 Goldsboro Ave., Virginia Beach, Va. 23451. "We need all the help you can give us."

A Native American Master of Public Health degree program with emphasis on Alcoholism is seeking applicants. The first-of-its-kind program has important implications for training native professionals as administrators, planners, researchers, program developers, and teachers. Contact: Elaine Walbroek, School of Public Health, University of California, Earl Warren Hall, Berkeley, California 94720 or call (415) 642-3228.



Nursing books or uniforms are needed for a Mohawk-Tuscarora woman studying to become a licensed practical nurse. Contact: Mrs. Terry Watson, 6921 SW 19th St., Pembroke Pines, Hollywood, Florida.

A new educational, social, and cultural organization in New Jersey is seeking to create unity through social activities, and support of native causes. Long range goals include an Indian village in N.J. Contact: Jacqueline Iozzi, Thundercloud Indian Affair, Inc., Box 873, Union, New Jersey 07083.

Native American Elders United, a non-profit senior citizens group formed to work on behalf of native elders, will be a co-sponsor of the 25th annual meeting of the National Council on the Aging, to be held in Washington this autumn. For further information contact: NAEU, 808 Ivy St., Carson City, Nevada.

A list of native librarians available as resource consultants is available from the American Library Association. Contact: ALA, attn: Marilyn Salazar, Minority Recruitment Specialist, 50 East Huron St., Chicago, Illinois 60611.

A secretary to the executive director is needed immediately by United South-eastern Tribes, Inc. Contact: USETI, 1101 Kermit Dr., Nashville, Tennessee 37217.

A group of inmates of a California prison have started a unique alcohol & drug program designed especially for the needs of offenders and ex-offenders. The core of the program focuses on counseling, education, films, outside speakers, and cultural identity awareness. For more information, contact: Alcohol & Drug Program, Paul C. Johnson, Chairman, Antelope Indian Circle, POBox 790, Susanville, California 96130.

By October 1, the Spokane County Bar Association wants to hire two native persons to staff a bar-sponsored office working in the area of corrections reform on behalf of native criminal defendants and inmates in the Pacific Northwest. The project will seek to secure pre-trial release, work release, probation, parole, and other alternatives to incarceration. The primary need is for an advocate attorney to direct the program. Non-attorneys are encouraged to apply if close to a law degree or with other outstanding qualifications. Contact: Dennis A. Dellwo, 1016 ONB Building, Spokane, Washington 99201 or telephone (509) 624-4291.

Films are needed for an Indian Film Festival to be held in Germany — 16mm, 35mm, video-tape, about Indians, and/or made by Indians. Send addresses and sources of such films to: Claus Biegert, Blumenstr. 30A, 8 Munich 2, Germany (or until November 1, write Claus Biegert, Gallery One, Hillsdale, New York 12529).

A 28-page illustrated Spanish-language newspaper on native affairs in the Americas has been published by INDIGENA. They are available in quantity for distribution, or single-copy purchase. For a sample, send a \$1 or what-have-you to INDIGENA, POBox 4073, Berkeley, California 94704.

One of the best college programs we've seen recently is the Native American Career Education in Natural Resources Program at Humboldt State University. It is designed to open up opportunities for native students in the natural resources field, such as forestry, wildlife management, fisheries, range management, oceanography with a view to managing tribal resources. Traditional people consult with the program to provide that perspective and focus. Humboldt also has a Native American Studies program. For further information, or an attractive folder, contact: Bobby Lake, Ethnic Studies Department, Humboldt State University, Arcata, California 95521.

[In 1890, at Wounded Knee, there was a massacre of hundreds of Oglala men, women, and children. They were en route to Pine Ridge in the winter-time, and were stopped by U.S. troops and disarmed of their hunting gear. One man refused to be disarmed, and his rifle was discharged in the air. Indiscriminate shooting, including cannon-fire, then took place, killing many of the soldiers by their own shells. But the press reported the incident differently, and a shocked U.S. public made the dead men heroes, eventually moving the Congress to award Congressional Medals of Honor. It took generations for the true story to come out.]

[This report appeared in the *Salmanca Republican* and was probably syndicated in newspapers throughout the U.S. It was printed January 2, 1891. The parallel between journalism such as this, and the reporting which took place after the shooting of the two FBI agents, is obvious.]

Camp on Wounded Knee Creek, S.D., via Rushville, Neb., Dec. 30 — The remaining four troops of the Seventh Cavalry arrived from Pine Ridge Agency and in the morning Gen. Forsythe issued orders to have the 150 male Indians who had been prisoners called from the tepees, saying he wanted to talk to them. They obeyed slowly and sullenly, and ranged in a semicircle in front of the tent where Big Foot, their chief, lay sick with pneumonia. By twenties, they were ordered to give up their arms.

The first twenty went to their tents and came back with only two guns. This irritated Maj. Whiteside, who was superintending this part of the work. After a hasty consultation with Gen. Forsythe, he gave the order for the cavalymen, who were all dismounted, and formed in almost a square about twenty-five paces back, to close in.

Their Devilish Cunning

They did so, and took a stand within twenty feet of the Indians now in the center. When this was done, a detachment of cavalymen afoot was sent to search the tepees. About sixty guns were found, but while this work was going on, the warriors held an incantation powwow. The tepees having been gone through, an order was given to search the warriors.

All thought of trouble was evidently out of the minds of the soldiers. A dozen of the warriors had been searched, when like a flash, all the rest of them jerked guns from under their blankets and began pouring bullets into the ranks of the soldiers, who a few minutes before had moved up within almost gun length. Those Indians who had no guns rushed on the soldiers with tomahawk in one hand and scalping knife in the other. It was a horrible rush. When Gen. Forsythe and Maj. Whiteside, I stood

when the firing started within touching distance of the death-dealing devils.

Captain Wallace Tomahawked

The only thing that saved all three of us from instant death was that the Indians



had their backs turned to us when they began firing. Their first volley was almost as one man, so that they must have fired a hundred shots before the soldiers fired one; but they were slaughtered after their first volley! Some, however, succeeded in getting through the lines and away to the small hills to the southwest.

VIEWS IN THE NEWS

THE MEDIA AND THE FBI: Ask almost any American how two Federal Bureau of Investigation agents were shot to death on the Pine Ridge Indian Reservation in South Dakota last June, and chances are he will say that they were "ambushed" or "executed" by Indians. People have that idea because most newspapers and radio and television stations reported it that way. And the wire services, in their turn, were forced to depend for their early stories on what they learned from "official spokesmen".

[Ask anyone how many deaths there were, and they likely will not remember that one native man also died on the same day in the same place. Ask them how things had been on the reservation before the deaths — to see if any know of the 18 violent deaths which happened in the six months prior to June 26 — but of Indians, not white men.]

[Still today, the most that can be said about the deaths is that many explanations are possible.]

In the light of the facts, including a partial reconstruction of what happened given at a press conference by FBI director Clarence Kelley five days after the [deaths], [the news of which was carried in few papers], it is tragic that 85 years after the original "battle" at Wounded Knee, at a time when many Americans are just becoming aware of the history of violence, exploitation, and mutual distrust that has characterized relations between Indians and whites, American journalism is still capable of rushing to embrace clichés about ambushes and cold-blooded executions by bands of savage Indians.

A United Press International story that went over the wires just after midnight (Central Time) on June 27 began this way:

OGDALA, S.D. (UPI) — TWO FBI AGENTS WERE AMBUSHED AND KILLED WITH REPEATED BLASTS OF GUNFIRE THURSDAY IN AN OUTBREAK OF BLOOD-SHED APPEARING TO STEM FROM THE 1973 OCCUPATION OF WOUNDED KNEE. . .

THE OFFICE OF SOUTH DAKOTA GOV. RICHARD KNEIP SAID THE AGENTS, ON THE OGLALA SIOUX RESERVATION TO SERVE A WARRANT, WERE SUCKED INTO AN AMBUSH, DRAGGED FROM THEIR CARS, AND SHOT UP TO 15 TO 20 TIMES WITH AUTOMATIC WEAPONS.

THE FBI CONFIRMED THE REPORT. AN AGENT SAID, "THIS WAS A REGULAR COUP DE GRAS [sic] BY THE INDIANS."

In a later paragraph, [after having already made nine errors of fact], the dispatch added:

THE AGENTS WERE TAKEN FROM THEIR CARS, STRIPPED TO THEIR WAISTS, THEN SHOT REPEATEDLY IN THEIR HEADS.

How UPI could say, only hours after the shooting had stopped, that it "stemmed from" the 1973 Wounded Knee disturbances, is anybody's guess. In a historical sense, of course, any violence between Indians and whites on a reservation could be said to stem from past conflicts. But in a narrower reporting sense, there was little evidence at that time to lead to such a conclusion. It strengthened the lead, however, by placing the story in a quickly recognizable context of past "Indian uprisings" against federal authority.

This questionable link was also strengthened by references in UPI dispatches to shots having been fired from "surrounding bunkers." UPI also quoted a "federal source" as saying that the bunkers were "sophisticated," and similar to those used at Wounded Knee in 1973. These particular "sophisticated bunkers," it turned out, were nothing more than old root cellars and a covered ditch that served as a horse shelter. But again, the references to bunkers helped to create the impression that the killers were a hostile military force that was "dug in" and lying in wait for the agents.

Not only does the UPI dispatch place what happened in a questionable light, it also has a number of facts plainly wrong. Both dubious interpretations and incorrect facts tend to create a picture of premeditated cold-blooded killings.

When FBI Director Kelley gave his version of events to reporters in Los Angeles on July 1, his account was quite different. First of all, he did not mention the possibility of an "ambush". In fact, Kelley said, the two agents, Ronald Williams and Jack Coler, both 28, had decided that day to visit the area in search of a [person for whom a warrant had been issued] who had been seen there before. There is no way the agents could have been "ambushed" then, unless it can be assumed the supposed ambushers were waiting for other unknown victims to happen by. Further, it is farfetched to suppose that even if Indians who lived in the area wished to set an ambush for anyone — let alone for FBI agents — they would choose their homeland to do it.

Other alleged facts that strengthened the idea of an ambush were incorrect. Perhaps most important, the agents were not shot fifteen or twenty times. They sustained a total of seven wounds that came from either six or seven bullets. Williams had removed his shirt, Kelley said, and had made a tourniquet for Coler's arm wound — indicating that at least one of the agents was not "stripped to the waist". . .

The Associated Press, in a dispatch that went out on its wires just after 1:30 (Central Time) emphasized the "execution" view of the murders:

TWO FBI AGENTS WERE DRAGGED OUT OF THEIR CARS AND EXECUTED WHEN THEY TRIED TO SERVE WARRANTS ON PEOPLE WHO WERE HOLED UP IN A HOUSE ON THE PINE RIDGE INDIAN RESERVATION, GOV. RICHARD KNEIP SAID EARLY TODAY.



Both the UPI and the AP gave South Dakota's Governor Kneip as the source for the view that the agents had been "sucked into an ambush" [UPI] or "lured into an ambush" [AP]. AP added that shots "continued into the night" although authorities agree that the shooting stopped before nightfall. Governor Kneip himself denies having said that the agents were lured into an ambush. His administrative aide and press secretary, Daniel Garry, however, said he was called by reporters from the wire services and several other media, and that he "may have said that, but I later sought to correct it."

. . . The sources for the most important — and most inaccurate — parts of the wire-service reports were the governor and attorney-general of South Dakota. Attorney General William Janklow had gone to the scene, as he said later, because he had heard that lawmen were in trouble. [The State of South Dakota lacks jurisdiction on the reservation.] When he left the scene, he told both AP and UPI reporters that it looked like an execution "because it did," he says.

That both wire services depended to a large extent on Governor Kneip and Attorney-General William Janklow for their information was unfortunate, to say the least. Kneip and Janklow can hardly be said to be impartial observers of events on the reservation — in fact, both the governor and the attorney general have gotten considerable political mileage out of a get-tough-with-the-radical-Indians approach to the conflicts on the reservation. The day after the shooting, Attorney General Janklow was on statewide radio calling the [deaths of the FBI] "assassinations" and arguing that it was time to stop being soft on the Indians just because they were a minority group.

The wire-service dispatches, and most of the stories that were printed and broadcast around the country, in one sense, were models of consistency: all were based on the assumption of premeditated treachery by Indians, the assumption that these were planned murders that were carried out mercilessly, and in cold blood.

True, media coverage can be hazardous — an NBC crew attempting to film the wake of Joe Stuntz Kills Right were forced to give up the film to AIM members who had forbidden the filming. And a CBS crew shooting film at Wounded Knee were fired on by assailants, believed to be Wilson supporters.

. . . One of the problems for reporters who wished to discover what had really happened on the reservation was the attitude of the FBI itself. Never known to be forthcoming in the release of information about its cases, the FBI was true to character in its handling of this case. Following the initial stories, the FBI brought an "external affairs officer", Tom Coll, in from Washington to the FBI's "command post" in Pine Ridge. He was there, he said, to "make sure the correct information was put out."

. . . During his briefings, Coll gave estimates of the number of men being sought — first twenty to thirty, then sixteen to twenty, and finally sixteen. . . Asked what the agents were doing on the reservation, Coll repeatedly said they were trying to serve warrants. He also said the Indians escaped via bunkers, although he declined to call them "sophisticated". Also, he refused to reveal the transcript of the agents' last conversations over their two-way car radios. Tape recordings made by the state of South Dakota of those conversations had been impounded by Attorney General Janklow on FBI orders, according to Janklow.

Coll said he had urged the release of the autopsy report [it has not yet been released] but he never denied another FBI spokesman's use of the term, "riddled with bullets," or indicated that the agents had been hit fewer than fifteen or twenty times. It was Coll who had announced that FBI agents had found ammunition, explosives, and one semi-automatic weapon in the area of the killings, but he refused to say where, or to give any other details. Finally, three days after the killings, Coll said he wanted to clarify the warrant matter. He explained that the agents had no warrants on their persons. "They were trying to effect an arrest under a warrant," as opposed to serving a warrant, he said.

By the time Coll cancelled his daily briefing sessions on the Monday after the killings, all other officials — local, state, and Bureau of Indian Affairs — were declining to speak to reporters. Several of them said the FBI told them it would make all statements. As one official put it, "They advised us that they would take care of it."

This pattern of let-them-talk-first-and-shut-them-up-later is the way the FBI often uses local law-enforcement agencies. During the early stages of an investigation, the Bureau will remain silent while local

officials comment on its cases. Information from such sources will usually place the actions of law enforcement officers, including the FBI, in the best possible light. If some of the information later turns out to have been incorrect, the FBI will decline to make corrections, offering as one reason (with some justice) reporters' practice of pitting one law-enforcement agency against another in a search for discrepancies. In fact, the Bureau often then "puts the lid on" a case by asking local officials also to cease commenting, thus making corrections of the release of new information impossible.

Kelley's press conference on July 1 was an extraordinary FBI effort to set the record straight, and that effort was commendable, even if the results were somewhat incomplete. But his version of events came long after lasting public impressions of what did and did not happen had been firmly implanted [and were not widely reprinted].

... Reporters were denied ready access to the scene, which only added to the dependence on official accounts of what had happened. (Even two days after the shooting, when a *Newsweek* reporter and I attempted to visit the scene, we were told by an FBI man, "You'd better go away, for your own safety." When we didn't move, he cocked his weapon. We left.)

And added to all this were the pressures and unspoken laws of daily journalism. Particularly with the wire services, it is just as important to be first with a breaking news story as it is to be right. The wire services were always on deadline, and always in competition with each other. A governor's aide said that when he tried to change a statement he meant to be "off the record", he was told, "It might be off the record, but it's on the wire."

Time and *Newsweek*, their deadlines approaching, forced their reporters to reach conclusions literally within hours after they arrived on the reservation, a *Time* correspondent made the error of saying that the agents were wounded in a crossfire from twenty-foot embankments flanking the road where the bodies were found. "Up to that time, I hadn't visited the scene," he said. When he got there, he saw one hill and a grassy pasture.

One alternative to getting something reported quickly by attributing it to whomever appears authoritative is for reporters to confront their editors frankly with uncertainties. If reporters and editors would agree to run stories saying the facts were unclear — until they became clear — pressure to get it right would be brought to bear on both officials and reporters. . .



But until the unlikely day when large numbers of reporters and editors are willing to go about their business in this way, citizens and newsmen alike would do well to be skeptical of the first news reports of complicated emotionally- and politically-loaded stories such as the latest deadly encounter between the Federal Government and the American Indians.

[This essay is adapted and excerpted from one by Joel D. Weisman, prepared with the assistance of Mark Fazollah, which appeared in the *Columbia Journalism Review*. Weisman covers the Midwest for the *Washington Post*.]

The Heart Of The Earth Survival School

Anishnawbeg Nation at White Earth — A Federation of Survival Schools and Indian-Controlled Alternative Schools was formed during a conference held at the American Indian Movement Survival Farm here September 8-13.

In attendance were students, parents, and staff of Heart of the Earth Survival School in Minneapolis, the Red School House in St. Paul, White Earth Survival School, We Will Remember Survival School in Rapid City, the Indian-controlled school at Pine Point, Minnesota, Minneapolis City-Center School, Indian Alternate School in Denver, and planning groups for survival schools from Winnipeg, Manitoba; the Wisconsin Warrior's Society, and Mille Lacs Reservation.

Although there were other interested native persons attending with representatives of foundations and colleges, Indian education organizations were conspicuous by their absence, although they were invited. The only government official present — although many agencies were invited — was Harvey Jacobs, a Cherokee working with the Office of Indian Education Title IV programs.

"These are the people who deny us assistance for Survival Schools," said Ralph Ware, director of the St. Paul Indian Center. "They say our schools don't give an education, or that they promote militancy. But they know nothing about us — we invited them to see, and where are they now? When we hear talk about Indians vs. Indians, let's remember this — it's Indians concerned about their kids surviving in our culture against those who would deny this."

The meeting was planned simply to discuss the education of native children, and the idea of a federation arose spontaneously. The new coalition will act as a consulting service to help other schools get started, will provide legal and technical assistance so proposals for funding don't get held up on technicalities, and will trouble-shoot legislative difficulties hindering the alternative education programs.

Financial independence of the survival school system was stressed heavily. Madonna Gilbert of Rapid City said, "We don't need bookkeepers, bureaucrats, all those people with degrees — all we need is money to get started. I can see in 5 or 10 years survival schools being self-supporting, self-sufficient, and hopefully, on Indian land. We ran around like fools, wasting three months last year putting together a proposal nobody looked at. We don't have a damn thing — never did. We have children — that's what counts. We have determination. I'm tired of begging — that's why I want this federation."

As the idea of the Federation grew, many proposals were made for its functions: exchanges of students, development of curriculum, joint-funding proposals.

However, students present at the conference reminded their elders that there were things more important than money and political power. "We never came together before to learn from each other," Sherri Blakey, co-chairman of the Red School House student council said. "Our orientation is spiritual and cultural, as well. A lot of learning can take place in a sweat lodge. We should do this more." The students proposed another conference this winter to explore those ideas.

Philip Deere, AIM spiritual leader and a traveller with the AKWESASNE NOTES/White Roots of Peace group, said that Western culture was based on Christianity, but that native education must be based on the truth. "For Indians, knowledge comes from nature. We can see it all around — it is true. We can see white people who follow their way destroying nature. I have read the Bible — there are truths there, but not clear truths like those of nature. The Bible was written for a lost people — but Indians are not lost. They were placed here, were born here, and are of the earth. So long as we follow the ways of nature, we are not lost." A statement from the conference said that urbanization, relocation, and assimilation policies had almost destroyed the native people. "But we have started de-urbanization and getting our Indian lands back. In this Bicentennial year when America celebrates its 200th birthday, Indian people are getting together a school system to prepare their youth to rebuild sovereignty. Associations for Indian education have totally failed to do this. Public and religious schools have worked against this."

The Heart of the Earth Survival School is an example of the growing trend in native education. It dedicated a new building in May in Minneapolis, which it had purchased for \$315,000 from the United University Campus Ministries.

About 135 students from kindergarten to senior-high-school age are now enrolled at the school, founded in 1972 by AIM, but now operated as a separate agency. It is considered as an Indian alternative to the public school system — in addition to routine academic subjects, students are taught Indian history, literature, art, music, and the Anishnawbeg language.



The school is funded primarily through the U.S. Office of Education. Prior to its present location, it had been in twelve other places, many of them condemned buildings.

The school conference was scheduled in conjunction with the Wild Rice Festival. However, this was a bad year for the rice harvest — 13,000 permits had been issued to non-Indian ricers last year as compared to 3,000 native harvesters. Every grain of rice was flailed from the stalks, and this year the crop was scanty.

The White Earth Tribal Council is contemplating suits for damages and injunctions to halt further destruction to the rice areas.

The conference was a good-time place, too, with evening campfires, singing, dancing. Organizers pointed out that unlike the usual education conferences, there was strict security provisions against drugs and alcohol.

Security crews also had to be vigilant because of the presence of a heavy army of law enforcement officials from five surrounding counties who sent scouts through the woods to see what was happening at the meeting.

Printed materials and video-tapes on the conference will be available from the National American Indian Movement, Box 3677, St. Paul, Minnesota 55101.

FEDERAL COURT ORDERS NEBRASKA PRISON TO ALLOW LONG HAIR, RIGHTS

Lincoln, Nebraska — "Native Americans Spiritual and Cultural Awareness", an Indian prisoners' group at the Nebraska Penitentiary, has won an order in U.S. District Court giving them the "same privileges presently extended to other inmate clubs, such as the Gavel Club and the Junior Chamber of Commerce." Prison officials had refused to permit an Indian Culture Club, denied access to Indian religion, and discriminated in the work release and work assignment programs.

U.S. District Judge Warren K. Urbom, who sat on many of the Wounded Knee cases in the fall of 1974, ordered the Nebraska prison officials to "permit the wearing of traditional Indian hairstyles, allow access to Indian medicine men and spiritual leaders, and pay clergy salary expenses just as with other religious faiths. Active membership in the Indian Culture Club is to be given the same recognition in terms of pay-raise points and other benefits as for "membership in other inmate self-betterment or religious groups.

"Recognizing the unique cultural needs of Indian inmates," Urbom ordered an affirmative action program to be designed to secure employment of Indian personnel. The prison is also ordered to initiate "accredited courses in Indian studies" at the prison.

For information, contact: Enick Robinson 26654, Inmate Legal Assistance, POBox 1248, Lincoln, Nebraska 68501, or Walter Echohawk, Native American Rights Fund, 1506 Broadway, Boulder, Colorado 80302.

A STATEMENT FROM JOHN TRUDELL



[This summer, shortly after the shooting of the FBI agents at Pine Ridge, John Trudell was arrested at his home in Nevada. This is a statement of the legal struggle which he is waging and facing. He requires assistance to cover legal fees.]

I'm charged with assault with a deadly weapon, and commission of a crime on an Indian reservation, because of an incident that happened at a trading post in Owyhee, Nevada.

But the real issue comes down to a jurisdictional question, because the way the federal law is set up, if an Indian is accused of committing a crime against a white on a reservation, that Indian is taken into federal custody and tried in federal court on felony charges. If a white commits a crime on a reservation, the white is also taken into federal custody and tried in federal court on felony charges. If an Indian commits a crime against an Indian on the reservation, nine times out of ten it is sent back by federal attorneys to tribal court to be dealt with.

So we're talking about racism being perpetuated by federal law. It's an automatic crime for an Indian just to stand up against a white on a reservation, no matter what that white does to you. The laws are set up so that anyone operating a business on a reservation can violate every law on the books and rob the people, but if the people stand up against the non-Indian for his violations, the people face a special federal law automatically guaranteeing a trip to federal court. Whereas if the Indians are fighting against each other, it is resolved in tribal court.

Everyone wants to know what's wrong with the Indians and why are they complaining, or why don't the Indians do it themselves, fitting into the term "self-determination." But how can you have self-determination if tribal courts are not allowed to mete out a fair standard of justice? If there is a double-standard of justice, a dual trial system that exists along racial lines, it is a violation of civil rights, a violation of human rights, and a violation of federal law.

The crime I'm accused of committing — had I committed it against an Indian, I would be facing a six-month maximum sentence, but because I'm accused of committing it against a white, I'm facing a ten-year maximum.

Jury duty is based on a selection from the tax rolls. So Indians are usually not on the jury — there is no jury of your peers. Also, I have a right to be tried where the alleged crime took place, not 500 to 1,000 miles away. If a white man commits a crime [in one of his cities], he has to request permission to have the trial changed from the scene of the community in which the alleged crime took place. But here, we have no option — we are taken from the community and tried by another community totally unfamiliar with the conditions where the crime allegedly took place.

I'm entitled to be tried by my peers. The way it is set up under this jurisdictional issue is that if you commit a crime against a white, you are tried by a jury of that white's peers, not your own. That's racism — it's practicing, blatant racism.

I'm out on \$10,000 bond. The normal bond is \$1500 in the state of Nevada. The government is taking economic advantage of me — I don't have the tax dollars available for my defense that the government has available for my prosecution. I think there should be a limit placed on the amount of money the government can spend to prosecute me,

because there's a limit to how much I can raise to defend myself.

That's something the people better start looking at — isn't that inequity under the law? The government has total, unlimited resources. It can lie, cheat, steal, and do any damn thing it wants to prosecute you because it's drawing off the taxpayer's money.

I live 500 miles from Reno, Nevada. Do you know how much money that's going to cost me to move back and forth to prove my innocence, especially since they're supposed to prove my guilt? Maybe the FBI agent who recommended my \$10,000 bond would like to help with my expenses.

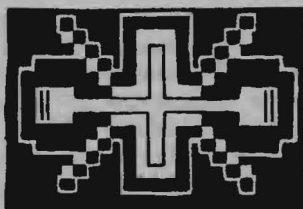
[Then there is the matter of the inflammatory statements issued about me in the press] — statements that I was drinking, that I had automatic weapons. I have signed affidavits, one signed by the tribal chairman, one signed by the tribal judge, one signed by a Presbyterian preacher, that I was not under the influence of any alcohol or drugs.

FBI agent Jack Neal, in charge of the state of Nevada, told the press this was "not a political crime" — that I was drunk at the time. I totally condemn the FBI for making that kind of racist statement.

I don't have to get drunk to stand up to a lying FBI agent or a scheming trader. I don't have to get drunk to stand up for my rights. I used to get drunk when I was much younger. I used to stay drunk — because I was running away from myself. But I'm not running no more, and I don't have to get drunk to stand up for what I believe in.

The FBI owes me a public apology for slandering my name. The FBI owes the Indian people of Nevada and America a public apology for perpetuating a racist stereotype of a drunken Indian. It is common practice of the FBI to use smear tactics. Although I did discharge a firearm in a public building, the FBI threw this all out of proportion, from the fact of me being drunk, fighting off the BIA police for four hours with automatic weapons. This is an important thing — because it goes right back to the situation in Oglala, South Dakota. This goes back to the vigilante witch-hunt that the FBI through its lies and smear tactics justified to the American public. They justified the setting up of a complete police state over a tribally-governed reservation.

[Regarding the banner headlines talking of a shoot-out with automatic weapons,] I am used to sloppy journalism. It reflects on the condition of the American state that it would accept the first lie that comes along printed, and nowhere along the line print a retraction. We've read all the history books and the newspapers of America, and we see that this is not a free society — they lie. As soon as the FBI says "drunk", they print it — the press should have more of a responsibility both to the Indian and white community to print garbage. The press should be held accountable as the federal agent who issued the racist statement.



What I did was to confront a man who was exploiting the people with high prices and racist attitudes and treatment toward the people, and I discharged a firearm in a public building — and that is all I have done. I do not deny it. I did it with the intention of getting at two issues. Who is going to bring these people under control, these people who flagrantly violate the law and rob our people? Who's going to bring them under control? The other one is — who has jurisdiction? You see, the tribe can't take this man to court for his practices, because there is a law protecting him from that. I don't have the money to

take anyone to court, I don't have the money to subpoena nothing. I don't have the money to go through the civil courts to change this law. The only thing that I've got is body politics to bring this issue out.

I'm not ashamed of what I've done — I am ashamed of the fact that it had to be done.

If we're citizens of the United States, the present law regarding jurisdiction is an unconstitutional law. If they're going to perpetuate unconstitutional laws against us, then we're not citizens — we fall within another sovereignty. That's exactly the way I see it.

I'm saying that the law has got to treat everyone equal and the same. Los Angeles County does not give up its jurisdictional rights to the federal government — why should an Indian reservation be forced to do something that the white citizens will not allow to happen? Why should we be forced into this position?



John Trudell

Whoever commits a crime on an Indian reservation — be he white, red or black — should be tried by the tribal government. His whole judicial process should take place within the jurisdiction where the alleged crime took place — equal justice for everyone under the jurisdiction of the tribal government. That's the way I see it.

It's just a fundamental thing — on the one hand, the federal government is forcing busing on both black and white people in the name of ending racism, but on an Indian reservation, they are perpetuating racism with the racism in their laws. If you want to eliminate racist individuals, you have to eliminate racist laws. The federal government has got to accept responsibility for the racism in their laws.

It's just my personal feeling, but many [United States citizens] are going to have to accept some of the blame too, because it's their federal government. The federal government may work against the wishes of the people, but as long as they sit back and let that happen, they're going to have to accept some of the blame.

Something has got to be done about the racism of the federal government's laws, and something's got to be done about the people who hide behind that racism and exploit our people. If the average U.S. citizen is going to hide behind ignorance of what's happening as an excuse, then we'll do it ourselves. Something's got to be done.

Let's be realistic — what Indian wants to be tried by a non-Indian? We're tried now by them everyday. We're tried by them in their classrooms, we're tried by them in their churches, we're tried by them in their poverty programs, we're tried by them with their alcohol. We're tried by them every damn day, and what we're saying now is hey, man, in the name of justice, let us be tried by the judicial system of our own people. Anyway, usually the crimes we're associated with arise directly out of these trials in the classrooms and preachers' rooms and bureaucrats' offices and the beer joints. We're saying let's eliminate that. We believe very strongly that the laws of the tribal government should be enforced by the tribal government.

We don't believe Indian people will find us not guilty of crimes — that's not the issue. The issue is the right to a trial by our people if that's where the crime was committed. If I commit a crime in Los Angeles, California, I should be tried in

Los Angeles, California. And if I did it in Owyhee, Nevada, that's where I should be tried.

This is the issue that the government has been trying to avoid. The government has been taking the Wounded Knee defendants out of the community and trying them in white cities — and I'm not going to let it happen to me. I'm going to be tried where the crime took place.

Since the liberation of Wounded Knee, the Federal Government has used their laws to parade us through their courtrooms under the charade of justice. They continue to make a mockery of the meaning of justice. They use the laws of the courtroom against us like they used diseased blankets and the Seventh Cavalry against our ancestors.

The feds have broken their own laws and yet we are the ones who must go to trial. The American public in its ignorance and apathy allow this to happen because their government uses its law-and-order rhetoric to confuse people. They say we are criminals and must be prosecuted, while the Watergate gang goes out to Boy Scout camps to rest while serving their time, and Richard Nixon goes to hospital instead of court. The feds and politicians speak of law and order and justice, but there seems to be one standard of justice for whites and another for Indians.

We watch the American elitist get away with treason while our people are kidnapped and held captive under the guise of federal laws. The only crimes our people are guilty of are wanting justice and peace for our people. America kidnaps us with federal law and holds us political hostages while American white juries decide if we are criminals or not, while America's halls of justice and courtrooms sit on stolen land. When the thieves and their descendants try us, then their bonds and fines are no more than ransom, jail prisoners no more than kidnap victims, white court is no more than racism, and law and order is no more.

The whites call themselves Americans now, but they still have the same value system as their European ancestors. They are still afflicted with the white superiority complex. They say they have changed, but they are wrong — their technology has changed, but the white man has remained the same. His value system won't allow the evolution of his humanity.

We talk about human rights that birth creates. The white man counters with civil rights which he legislates. The American public wallows in its own obsession of self, while speaking to us of equality. They elect politicians to blame, while eminent domain creates exploiting traders, strip-mining, bureaucratic corruption, and less hunting and fishing. The politicians form the white man's government which legislates the Manifest Destiny policies that have legalized the destruction of our peoples.

The white Americans help us to blame the government as though to create the illusion that the white Americans have no guilt. The white Americans are guilty of apathy and self-indulgence to the extent that they have allowed inhumanity to thrive.



We can no longer accept America's rationalizations and hypocrisy in place of honor.

We can no longer accept racism for justice.

We can no longer pretend that the pain of oppression does not exist.

We can see through the mask of white America and see how white America's dishonor has robbed our people of their honor. We know the sacredness of truth, honor and respect to be the value system of a free people.

I demand to be tried in Owyhee, Nevada, by the people whom I am supposed to have committed a crime against.

KOOTENAI AT BONNERS HAVE FEDERAL RECOGNITION

Bonnors Ferry, Idaho

"It's happening just as we dreamed it would," says Amy Trice, chairwoman of the Bonners Ferry band of the Ktunaxa (Kootenai) Nation.

At midnight, September 19, 1974, the 67-member Bonners Ferry band had declared war against the U.S. Government, demanding a 128,000-acre reservation, a treaty, payment for 1.6-million acres of lost aboriginal lands, and recognition of hunting, fishing, water and other aboriginal rights. They had set up pickets along the highways to collect 10-cent tolls from motorists passing through their territory. They emphasized that theirs was a war against the U.S. Government — not against the *suyapi*, the white people.

In April, Amy Trice went to Washington, D.C., joining many native people from the West and Southwest to lobby against the Kiechel Bill, which threatened to give jurisdiction over water rights to the individual states. She returned home with good news: the Kiechel Bill was to be defeated — and the Bonners Ferry Kootenais were to receive certain benefits. Both Idaho senators, James McClure and Frank Church, were supporting them, as was Idaho congressman Steve Symms and others, and there was no important opposition.

A bill to establish a reservation on the Kaniksu National Forest is in Congress, and it has the blessings of the U.S. Forest Service. "They saw how well the Coeur d'Alenes have been managing their forest," points out Amy's husband, David.

When the band declared war on the U.S. last fall, material and spiritual support began to come in from Indians and non-Indians in the Northwest and elsewhere. The Affiliated Tribes of the Northwest — including Lummi, Quinault, Stilaquamish, Squaxin, Makah, Spokane, Colville, Warm Springs and Shoshone-Bannock Nation representatives — passed a resolution supporting the Bonners Ferry Kootenais. Joe Matthias, chairman of the Kootenai Coalition on the Flathead Reservation in northwestern Montana, promised that if necessary all 500 Kootenais on the Flathead Reservation would go to Bonners Ferry to support their kinsmen. When Helen Cutsack, Amy Trice's elderly mother, went to the Flathead Reservation to plead for support in her halting English and soft Kootenai, her eloquence moved the tribal council to send \$1,000 to the Bonners Ferry band. The band printed and sold thousands of "war bonds" at \$1 each.

The war will not officially have ended until the Kootenais actually have their land. But things have been progressing well.

Now the Kootenais at Bonners have federal recognition, which means that certain severe obstacles encountered by non-recognized tribes did not face them when they began to fight for the return of their land.

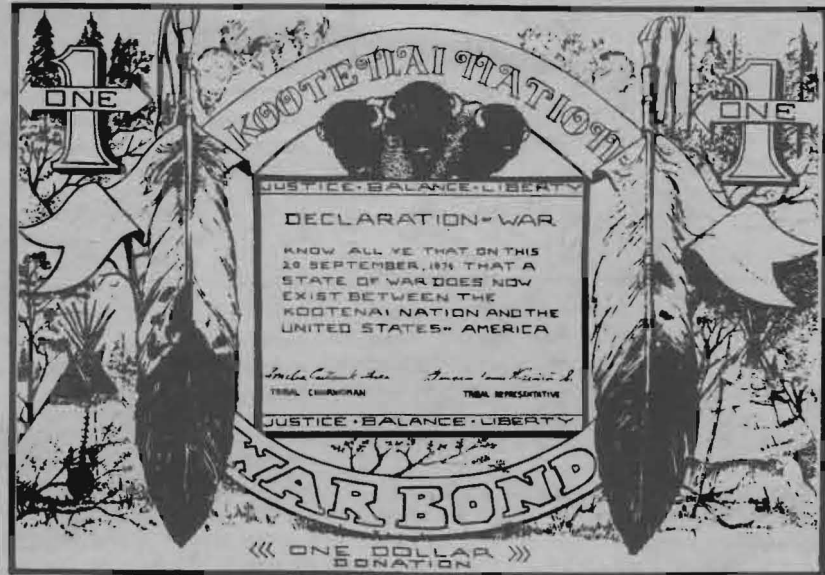
The band here never had a reservation and never signed a treaty. On July 16, 1855, the Montana Kootenai bands signed the Treaty of Hellgate along with the Flathead and Kalispel Nations, creating the "Confederated Salish and Kootenai Tribes" and the Flathead Reservation in Montana. Bonners Ferry people successfully resisted government pressure to move them from their homeland, and maintained that the treaty did not apply to them.

In 1894, the U.S. "gave" the Bonners Ferry group allotments of 80 acres of farmland per family — that is, gave them their own land, which had never been ceded to the U.S. Because of their federal recognition and these allotments, some maps have erroneously shown a Bonners reservation. However, this land did not have trust status, and most of it was sold by the "jug-of-wine-\$10-bill" method.

Rural, isolated, and relatively undeveloped, sparsely-populated Idaho, with its vast resources, has been more or less a feudal domain for reactionary vested special interest groups operating on land from which the native people have been removed. There is the Simplot Industries agri-business, Gulf Oil's Bunker Hill Mining, Boise-Cascade timber-lumber interests, utilities like Idaho Power in which Harvard University has large holdings, and the hierarchy of the LDS or Mormon Church, which enjoys an almost medieval economic-religious stranglehold over much of southern and eastern Idaho.

Farming was an alien occupation to the Kootenais, and the people were growing poorer and hungrier. In 1927, U.S. representatives met with tribal leaders to "explain" to them that the rest of the allotments along the Kootenai River had to be sold. All that eventually remained was about 12½ acres — the Roman Catholic mission.

In 1962, the U.S. paid the band about 36 cents per acre for their lost aboriginal lands, and then forgot about the desperate people it had left with virtually no way to keep themselves alive.



But after the war was declared, Congress' first response was to pass a bill confirming Kootenai ownership of the mission's 12½ acres. Only a few of the Bonners Ferry Kootenais still live in the handful of rundown little houses clustered about an abandoned Catholic Church building; the rest are scattered in and around town. This remnant of a community sits on a little wooded hill that rises like an island in the middle of a great sea of rich cultivated farmland — the former tribal allotments.

"At first, the farmers were afraid that we were asking for that farmland back," Amy Trice says. "But when we made it clear it was the National Forest we were asking for, they supported us."

The band plans to build a resort on the soon-to-be-created reservation. The Kootenais pointed out to violence-threatening townspeople that the resort would provide employment for town youth, as well as Kootenai — "there aren't enough of our kids anyway to staff it," Trice explains. She also pointed out that the resort would draw tourism and stimulate business in the little town — and she made it clear that no private land was threatened.

Many townspeople do readily express their "sympathy" for the "plight" or "tragedy" of the Kootenais. Still, not all the sympathy was unmixed with the old prejudices they had been taught.

"The mission?" a gray-haired waitress enunciates with distaste. "You don't want to go to the mission — they'll scalp you." She chuckles at her own wit. Then her manner turns to disgust. "When I was a girl, those Indians had everything you could ask for. The Government built them a nice church, nice school, nice houses — but they still wanted to live in tipis!" she says with incredulous scorn. "Pitched them behind those nice houses and lived in them. They had real good farmland, but Indians don't know how to farm or handle money, and they just got drunk and sold it all."

"See, they weren't really what you might call civilized," a diner offers as explanation.

Helen and Baptiste Cutsack are among the few Kootenais who still live at the Mission. Helen Cutsack is a great grandmother, but her long braids are still glossy black. She is mournful, almost bitter, about the lack of interest in the Kootenai traditions and the lack of respect for their elders from the young people of the band. "They're not interested in learning the language, none of them. I try to teach them and they laugh at me. I tell them about the respect we had for the old people in the old days, and they laugh at me."

Helen speaks of the changes in the Catholic people she has seen in her lifetime. "They used to say that all our Indian religion was the work of the devil, that it was bad. Now, our priest, he never says anything about it. Maybe he thinks we have forgotten all our ways by now. But some of the priests, they say that the Old Ways are good. In Wellpinit, the priest blessed the medicine men and asked God to give them power." She feels that Catholic and traditional religion can be practiced together. The traditional ways center on communication and cooperation with spirit beings.

There are four Ktunaxa bands north of the U.S./Canadian border (where the English name of the nation is spelled closer to its pronunciation — Kootenay) as well as the 500 Kootenais on the Flathead Reservation. The Lower Kootenay band, just across the border from Bonners near Creston, B.C., is actually one community with the Bonners group, as are the Montana Kootenais and the Tobacco Plains band near Grasmere, B.C.

But they are split by someone else's international border. "We have always been one people," says Amy Trice. "But they put that border there and cut us in half, separated us." The border not only hinders communications, but interferes with the working-together of the entire nation, since the bands on either side of the border are given separate problems and issues to struggle with. The other two Kootenay bands are the Columbia Lakes Band near Windermere, B.C., and the St. Mary's Band near Cranbrook.

The B.C. bands have their own land problems. Between 1912 and 1916, a joint federal-provincial commission made unauthorized cut-offs from the reserve lands, and the Lower Kootenay band suffered one of the largest cut-offs. Native people in B.C. are pressing the general aboriginal claim to nearly all the province and the cut-off lands issue as distinct issues. Most of the Creston band's reserve land is marsh, and the chances for return of its cut-off lands are not increased by the fact that the Creston area is a rich fruit-and-vegetable-growing area, nor by the rapid growth of the nearby town of Creston.

The B.C. Kootenay bands' most crucial and immediate concern is to slow down the exodus of their young people to Vancouver, Spokane, and other places where they are forced to go to make a living. Since the beginning of the century, the bands' reserve populations have suffered a steady and serious decline, and with memberships averaging less than 100 each, the bands can hardly afford such attrition.

Meanwhile, the Kootenai on the Flathead Reservation are fighting a battle of a different sort. Joe Matthias, chairman of the Kootenai Coalition on that reservation, says that of the 5600 enrolled members of the Confederated Salish and Kootenai Tribes, about 4000 are *suyapi*, descendants of *suyapi* who had gotten on the rolls by various means when they were first being made up, and so have no Indian blood or only a trace. They are interested, he says, only in BIA benefits and claims and compensation money, but they control the tribal council. "We say that if you added up all the Indian blood of the ten tribal council members, you'd have one-and-a-half Indians." And noting that the one Kootenai representative, Pat Left Hand, is seven-eighths Indian-blood, "you can just guess what the rest of them are. One of them is 1/256th."

The Kootenai Coalition had submitted a proposal that included points that enrolled members should be at least one-fourth Indian, and that tribal council members should be over half Indian and speak their native language. "The newspapers say it is a movement of Kootenay vs. Flathead, because those enrolled *suyapi* call themselves Flatheads — they know that we Kootenais have always refused to claim them. It's not Kootenai vs. Flathead — it is Kootenai and Flathead vs. *suyapi* parasites. The real Flatheads support us. But they are just letting the Kootenais do all the dirty work."

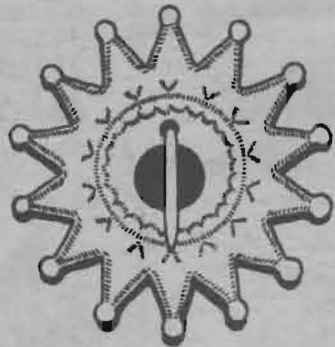
Matthias continues, "We don't want to actually secede, as the newspapers say. But we do want Kootenai control of half the reservation. There are a little over twice as many Flatheads as Kootenais on the reservation, by his calculations, but with the enrollment swelled by 4000 *suyapi*, the Kootenais form less than one-eleventh of the enrollment, and so have only one representative on the ten-member tribal council."

Matthias is considering incorporating into the Kootenai Coalition proposal a requirement that only people who speak their respective native languages can be enrolled and receive benefits, because drastic steps are needed to save both the Kootenai and Flathead languages. Too many young people are indifferent to their obligation to help their languages and cultures survive, he says, but since so many are as motivated by material considerations as the *suyapi* seem to be, this might be turned to the nations' advantage to help keep the languages alive.

The soft and musical Kootenay language, which a linguist said "sounds like walking in the woods on a fall day, the leaves rustling under your feet, and occasionally a twig snapping", has long posed a mystery to linguists and anthropologists, who could find no connection between Kootenay and any other language family.

[This report from Bonners Ferry is by Gayle High Pine, a regular contributor to AKWESASNE NOTES, currently working among The People in British Columbia.]

Great Lakes



Alexian Brothers Break Contract With Menominees

Keshena, Wisconsin — The Menominee Restoration Committee, the temporary governing body of the newly-reestablished reservation here, say they want the Menominees to be known for their successful program of bouncing back from congressionally-imposed termination, rather than as "the guys who took over a monastery by force."

The Menominee Restoration Committee maintains that while most U.S. people remember the Menominees as "the guys who took over a monastery by force," that their restoration process has been one of the biggest legal battles of the century, and one which will help to solve economic, cultural, and political problems and needs.

MRC is contracting with the BIA to provide services, and combined with the former Menominee Enterprises, is a multi-million dollar operation. The committee is made up of some of the persons who battled and lobbied a bill through the Congress restoring them to reservation status after a two-decade ordeal of being a terminated people.

The restoration was not really a going-back, though, but rather an opportunity for a fresh start. A new tribal constitution will have to be formulated and ratified, no mean trick considering the many factions that will have to agree with any proposal. MRC is seeking retrocession to gain back tribal jurisdiction which was given to the state of Wisconsin as a result of Public Law 280 and termination.

Hunting and fishing rights on tribal lands have been regained for tribal members as a result of a Wisconsin Supreme Court decision on May 6, 1975.

The core of the MRC are three women, Ada Deer, Sylvia Wilber, and Shirley Daly. Opposition to them has aroused charges of sexism, while their opponents claim they only advocate traditionalism and don't practice it. They charge that the three, who had fought actively for years to have the termination repealed, had become corrupted by the power and funds they had gained and were now dividing the restoration forces amongst themselves.

Feelings have been intense on the reservation for months now. The Menominee People's Committee, with enforcement provided by the Warrior Society, has taken on the MRC, there have been scuffles at public meetings, and charges of assault have been laid.

The sharply-factionated nation is attempting to reunite, although each faction is hoping that the unity will come by having other people join their position. Efforts for reunification were jolted, though, when the Alexian Brothers, the religious order which promised to turn over its unused estate to the Menominees after a 34-day armed occupation last January, announced in July that it cannot go through with the deal.

The Chicago-based order had agreed to give the property to the Menominees for medical or educational use, but now says that it would be too costly for the Menominees, and would create divisiveness.

After all the shooting and shouting, the Alexian Brothers had agreed on February 2nd to turn over the huge novitiate facility to the Menominee Tribe. But since many of the Menominee Warrior Society were on the outs with the committee running Menominee affairs, and since that was the committee which would have to receive the facility in the name of the Menominees, it was a sure cause for failure from the start. On July 9th, the Alexians announced that the deal was off and that they had fulfilled their "moral obligation."

In that six-month interval, a team had been formed, composed of three members of the Warrior's Society and three off-reservation whites to decide what should be done with the facility. Wisconsin Governor Pat Lucey conducted a study which showed three options — a patient health care facility costing \$884,000 for renovations; a children's home costing \$1.25-million to prepare; or a technical and vocation school at \$1.25-million. These costs were for capital improvements alone, and do not include operating costs.



The Alexian Abbey at Gresham last winter . . . three times a white elephant

— Wisconsin Patriot photo

One tribal elder described the announcement as a bombshell, and some persons indicated a new takeover could result. Brother Maurice Wilson read the announcement to an Indian committee that had been supervising the property since the takeover ended. The meeting was July 9.

In the announcement, Brother Florian Eberle, head of the order, listed four reasons for the decision. He pointed to the \$40,000 annual maintenance cost. He said a state study had showed it would be too expensive to convert the novitiate to tribal use. Then there was the matter of further dividing the Menominees on the issue, and he felt local non-Indians would be angered if the arrangement were completed.

The Menominee Restoration Committee, headed by Ada Deer, has opposed the transfer. That group has been at odds with the Menominee Warriors' Society that held the occupation, and the moderate Menominee People's Committee.

Five persons surrendered themselves for trial on the strength of the agreement for transfer. Their felony charges have not yet been heard. Others who surrendered were charged with misdemeanors. Legal defense funds are being collected at Menominee Warrior Society Legal Defense/Offense Fund, Box 431, Keshena, Wisconsin 54135.

The day following the Alexian announcement, there were firebombings and gunfire, and Sheriff Kenneth Fish advised tourists to stay away and ordered the closing of all bars in the county.

One fire destroyed a Soo Line railway trestle near Neopit, halting train traffic through the area. There was also fire-bombing of the "Little Papoose Drive In" and the "Warbonnet Bar". At least two cottages owned by non-Indians on reservation land were burned shortly after midnight.

"I don't know why the hell they burned that bridge down," said Sheriff Fish, a Menominee. "That's our livelihood" — the railway takes lumber from the Menominee-owned sawmill at Neopit.

At a press conference, members of the Menominee Warrior Society, which had been involved in the January takeover of the monastery facility, said they were not involved in the violence to the properties. "We can neither condemn nor condone," a spokesman said.

Col. Hugh Simonson, who commanded the national guardsmen who surrounded the novitiate during the takeover and a negotiator for settlement, was critical of the new situation. "All of [these fires are] totally related to the Alexian Brothers' breaking of the contract," Simonson said.

The next night, there was more gunfire as tensions between whites and Menominees mounted. A 10 p.m. curfew was ordered.

In Chicago, the Alexians held a press conference to defend their decision. Brother Maurice said the order had not expected that the announcement would cause violence, and reiterated that they were still open to suggestions for converting the estate and mansion into an Indian community facility if financial aspects could be worked out.

The Alexians say they will accept proposals from any tribe, group, or individual for the utilization of the novitiate.

Brother Maurice Wilson, speaking for the Roman Catholic order, said "we don't feel we've violated any agreement because a contract has to have a responsive party and the other party has not been responsive at all."

Brother Wilson chafed at comments by Gov. Lucey that the Alexians should have consulted with state officials before ending the agreement.

"We didn't notify Pope Paul either," he said.

Brother Florian Eberle said that tribal leaders had indicated to him that "turning over the building would further divide the factionalized tribe and would cause adverse feelings by non-Indian people in the area." However, that statement was hotly contested by Sylvia Wilber. She said MRC had planned to have a vote of the Menominee people to determine whether or not to accept the building. "We were not consulted," she said. "We were not consulted," she said.

Ada Deer, chairperson of MRC, the Menominee governing body, condemned the Alexian Brothers for the "deliberate misrepresentation" of the agreement. "The Restoration Committee is outraged that this religious body would deliberately create a hostile & potentially violent atmosphere on the Menominee Reservation by knowingly asserting to the public that the Restoration Committee participated in and agreed with the decision. The Menominee people have continuously been ignored, manipulated, and subjected to gross misrepresentation and intimidation during this entire incident and thoroughly resent this."

[Thanks to Associated Press and Aq-ua Chamine, newsletter of the Menominee Restoration Committee, POBox 168, Keshena, Wisconsin 54135, for information used here.]

CHIPPEWA WOMAN NAMED TO STATE POST

Duluth, Minnesota — Ruth Myers, an Anishnawbe woman, has been appointed to the Minnesota State Board of Education by Gov. Wendell Anderson this summer. She is the first native person to serve with that agency.

CLEVELAND INDIAN CENTER BOARD ELECTIONS CHALLENGED BY SUIT

Cleveland, Ohio — A battle for control over the American Indian Center here reached the courts in late July when a group of dissident members asked Common Pleas Court to decide whether the current board of directors headed by Jerome War Cloud was elected legally.

The suit was filed by a group headed by Anthony Laughing, a Mohawk from Akwesasne, who is a former assistant director of the center which provides emergency relief money to Indians in 71 Ohio counties. The center receives federal funding, and has had a stormy history since Russell Means, its founding director, left Cleveland to become active in the national American Indian Movement.





INDIAN TO INDIAN

anyone. However, we will state that our tribe is not as divided as the article leads one to believe. This is not an assumption or an estimated guess, it is based on the sound evidence of the sweeping election results in our favor. Support for our present leaders is also expressed at meetings and at random community gatherings. Contrary to the dubious article's twist of the facts, the Mill employees openly voice their support of the present leadership and denounce the activities of the Warrior Society and the Menominee People's Committee, Theodore S. Boyd included," he said.

Explaining the purpose of the firings, Fowler pointed out numerous inaccuracies. He said that the Corporation saw fit to terminate Boyd because of his job failures, not because he sympathized with the Warrior Society or who he opposed. The Corporation is prepared to document his job failures to anyone with the genuine ambition of doing accurate reporting, Fowler said. However, no one has done this.

Fowler also shed some unpublished light on the firing of Jim Martin as director of the Menominee Community Action Program. He said that Martin transported 50 elderly Menominees out to the abbey, which the Warriors had previously occupied, for a meal which they were told was "free". As it turned out, the elderly paid for the meal themselves from their meager activity funds that they helped raise and part of which was allocated to that particular program. Martin was the trustee for these funds and he authorized the funds to be misused. The elderly heatedly complained to the Menominee Restoration Committee that they were forced to go to that supposedly-free meal. The elderly also recognized that they feared a possible threat to their safety because of the non-Indian vigilantes who dared the Indians to use the forcefully-seized abbey.

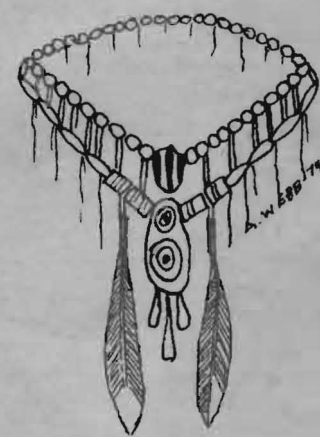
Fowler was very critical of the Warrior Society and the People's Committee for using media to help raise their issues and make accusations against the present leadership. "None of their issues have proven any validity. It's just a smoke-screen tactic. They seem to do a lot of kicking, but raising no dust," he said.

"The article also gave an unjust negative view of the Menominee Tribe's Transfer of Assets into trust with the United States," he said. "The trust document which we Menominees devised will not put us under the paternalistic trust relationship that other tribes are bound by. We drafted it with self-determination in mind. The plan in a proposed form was drafted by Menominee leaders who are all Menominees. Ideas were incorporated from the Menominee people themselves at various community meetings, and then it was approved by over 53% of the enrolled Tribal members in an election." (This transfer of assets was regarded as the most important step of the entire Restoration process both economically and socially because it lifted the burdensome Corporate income and property taxes, and also gives greater protection from the loss or alienation of Tribal lands.) All of those persons who are now the Warrior Society and most of those affiliated with the People's Committee were strongly opposed to the very concept of the Transfer plan. In this election, they totalled only 5.5% of the enrolled tribal members. "Still after this sound defeat of not only the opposing faction, but the ultimate rejection of the dreadful termination policy by the majority of the Tribe, the Warriors and Peoples Committee made statements to the news media that 'they represent the majority of the Tribe.' They make no sense to me," Fowler said. "These were the kind of statements being made during the occupation of the Alexian Brothers' novitiate near Gresham," said Fowler.

Fowler said that Menominees take the Warriors' statements with resentment because they feel that only the MRC can speak on behalf of the Tribe, since they, through an election, are the most representative group. He also said that the people are not pleased with them people calling themselves Warriors, because according to Menominee tradition, the term warrior means protector, and is quite a respected status. However, he said they spend most of their time fighting the Tribe and its members and attempting to disrupt the expressed desire of the Tribe to return to Tribal status.

The harshly direct critic praised AKWESASNE NOTES for their past coverage on Menominee affairs. However, he commented, "Indian to Indian, we look to publications as AKWESASNE NOTES and others to grasp the knowledge of other Tribes. We rely on a vivid clear picture of these other native people. We ask for your cooperation in giving a clear picture of us to other tribes. We also do not believe that a NOTES reporter wrote the article."

[The article was written by NOTES staff, based on information sent to it by Menominee people. We leave it to the Menominee people to reply to the letter above, or the letter below, both of which arrived unsolicited.]



MENOMINEE CONTROVERSY Two Letters - Two Sides

[The Menominee Restoration Committee has actively taken issue with the article which appeared in the Early Summer, 1975, edition of AKWESASNE NOTES concerning the Menominee situation. This is the statement of the MRC in reply to that article.]

Al Fowler, public relations director for the MRC, alleged that whoever reported the story to/for NOTES "grossly put words into the mouth of Sylvia Wilber". Sylvia Wilber is the chairperson of the Menominee Enterprises board of directors. Fowler also charged that the story was "ill-researched in order to document the glaring quotation attributed to Mrs. Wilber. The fact is that when the Mill employees voted to strike, Mrs. Wilber was very sympathetic toward them, understanding the rising cost of living and the need for higher wages at the time," he said.

"The Menominee Tribe does have its internal disputes as any other tribe or group, we won't deny this fact to

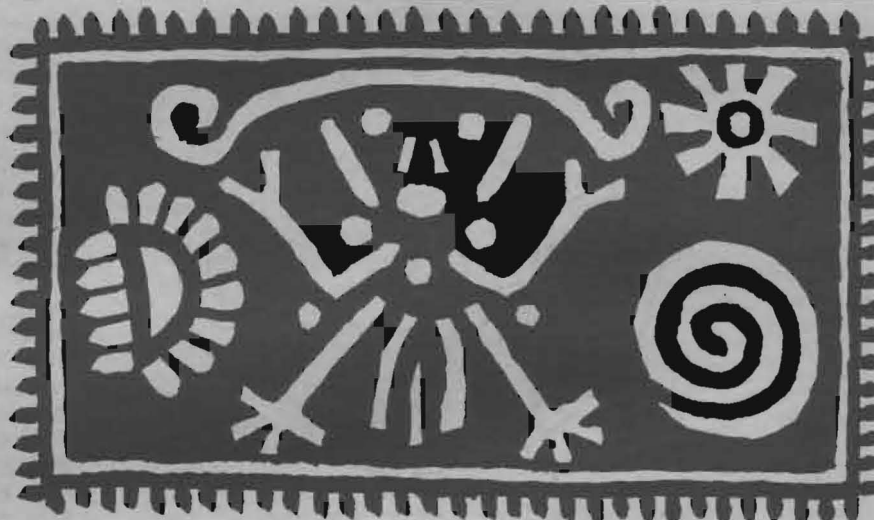
WHAT'S WRONG WITH THE MENOMINEES?

[AKWESASNE NOTES also received a letter presenting another perspective. It was signed Waubanaysha, of Keshena, and because of its length, is excerpted here.]

What's wrong with the Menominees?

The original DRUMS movement was of Menominee people who were striving for a return to democracy and justice. Spearheaded by Jim White, DRUMS opposed Menominee Enterprise Incorporated leadership who had gone one step too far when they failed to consult with the Menominee people for the sale of Legend Lake [a 5,000-acre cottage real-estate development].

Eventually, the new regime [now the Menominee Restoration Committee] blackballed its leader, Jim White, using Drums as a steppingstone for their own selfish motives - power, greed and fame. The people always came second to these motives. Beware to the person who even questioned their corrupt mode of governing.



Anyone who disagreed with their racket was fired (Ted Boyd, Jim Martin and 35 others). In an [Indira] Ghandian type dictatorship, they rule, manipulating themselves into a powerplay money-making racket.

What do we have for evidence? The testimony of almost all tribal elders. The disproportionate amount of wealth developing among MRC and a few of their "goon" supporters. The blatant refusal to open their financial records to the public or to answer questions to elders. Before, even during the MEI era, people were freely allowed to come in and check the financial records.

So we elected our present tribal leaders believing that we would receive justice and democracy. Instead we got a purge of leadership and the replacement of less-qualified persons who strictly adhered to the dictates of the self-centered system.

The elections for the "interim" tribal government came around, and once again, the Menominees were promised a new election in one year. But it's going on two years now, and there are no new

elections to come for another year and a half, they say.

Now their dictatorship is complete, and everything they accused the previous tribal government of, they themselves are guilty of by twice-degree. Dictatorship, favoritism, nepotism, salary increases, and requiring strict, unquestioning obedience.

[A year ago] two groups - one of old people and one of younger ones - formed. They pressed the MRC for answers to their questions. But instead, they got the habitual walking out of the tribal chairman, and a full propaganda blackwashing by the DRUMS newsletter. People started getting threats saying that if they didn't quit asking questions, their jobs would be terminated.

[A corrupt election of the Enterprises stockholders was held.] That ended the period of trying to work within a dictatorial system. Then a period of violence started with the takeover of the Alexian Brothers Novitiate, which had its birth in the discontent the Menominee youth felt for our so-called leadership.

We Menominees want, voted for, and deserve a democracy. This is what we are fighting for, and what Ada Deer and Sylvia Wilbur will not give us. Instead, they have allotted thousands of dollars to the police department to hire fifty extra deputies. This is Ada's small army which will hopefully maintain her dictatorship. Her regime has only served to place the Menominee situation on the verge of a bloody revolution, where both white and Indian lives will be lost.

If Ada Deer is as popular as she says she is, she will have nothing to fear by having free elections. This is basically what we are asking for. When this is done, the violence will end.



The Washington Scene



Bureau Of Indian Affairs In A Shaky Situation



—Ted Hetzel photo
Morris Thompson . . . Politics Beckoning?

Washington, D.C. — Thomas Kleppe, a wealthy business man who now is head of the Small Business Administration, has been nominated by U.S. President Gerald Ford as Secretary of the Interior.

Stanley Hathaway had replaced Rogers C.B. Morton, who moved to bigger-and-better things, but he remained in office only 42 days. He resigned his post July 25 after doctors said he was suffering from a depression brought on by physical exhaustion, and would require psychiatric care.

For a time, Indian Country was shaky that present Interior solicitor Kent Frizzell might be nominated for the position.

And there is a recurring rumor that Morris Thompson, BIA Commissioner, might resign to enter politics.

Besides the pressures of the job, Hathaway's tenure wasn't helped any by Ford's habit of using Interior posts to appease right-wing critics in his own party. Ford wanted William Bonowski, the president of Pepperdine College in California and a Ronald Reagan disciple, as undersecretary. Bonowski's ignorance of natural resources so impressed congressmen that he soon went back to Pepperdine.

With Frizzell at the helm and his name being seriously considered for the top role, shudders went up and down those who hope for increased "self-determination" in the BIA. It was Frizzell who disbanded the Indian Civil Rights Task Force, who intervened against native interests in the question of tribal jurisdiction over non-Indians, and whose promises as head Wounded Knee negotiator were for naught.



Hathaway's appointment drew severe criticism from environmentalists, who claimed that the former governor had consistently favored the interests of land developers and the mining industry over protection of the environment. Those criticisms had stung Hathaway, and some say that contributed to his psychiatric problems.

Kent Frizzell acceded to acting Secretary of the Interior automatically. John Whitaker, undersecretary of the Interior who would have assumed the post, resigned on May 1 following a March heart attack. Whitaker had been the man sent in by former U.S. President Richard Nixon to actually run the Interior Department.

While Kleppe himself has not been linked to any wrong-doing, the Small Business Administration has been under investigation for the last two years by several congressional committees and government auditors because of charges it has been riddled with political and criminal corruption and was badly managed. Any experience Kleppe gained in dealing with these factors would surely stand him in good stead at Interior.

The seat Thompson would seek is held now by Don Young, an Alaska Republican who is a close personal and family friend of Thompson's. He would have to file notice of his intentions no later than next June 1.

This would not be the first time Thompson has thought of Alaskan politics. He was pressed to leave the BIA in the spring of 1974 to run for the office of Lieutenant Governor of Alaska on a ticket with former Interior Secretary Walter Hickel, who lost the race when the election took place. Thompson had served Hickel as a special assistant for Indian Affairs before Nixon fired him October 4, 1970, for insubordination.

Thompson, at a young 36 years of age, has already found out that former BIA Commissioners "have nowhere to go but down", and he is looking for a more secure foundation for his next 30 years of public life. If he leaves, deputy commissioner Harley Frankel, a non-Indian who had been accused of using funds earmarked for Indian Head Start programs for other purposes, and of using consultant funds for political payoffs when he was with HEW, would most likely assume temporary command.

Frankel, as top brass in the Office of Child Development, was involved in a plan which was strongly criticized by the Government Accounting Office. It involved, among other things, the funnelling of a \$250,000 contract to Thompson, Lewin and Associates, a management consulting service.

Thompson, in a speech in Tahlequah, Oklahoma, September 6, said the reports of his move into politics were "flattering, but without basis." The commissioner said he was "enjoying my work in Indian Affairs very much, and have no intention of quitting to go into politics."

Thompson says current legislation, such as the Indian Financing Act and the Self-Determination Act will result in eventual termination of Bureau of Indian Affairs service programs in "20 or 30 years."



HOTEL PURCHASE ABANDONED AS GROUP VANISHES FROM NATIVE SCENE

Washington, D.C. — A native group known as the National American Indian Council which appeared out of nowhere last January to announce it planned to purchase the historic Willard Hotel here for a national headquarters for native people has disappeared as quickly as it came on the scene.

Now a developer is reported by the *Washington Post* to be ready to finance restoration of the old hotel, and a hotel operator is waiting to operate it.

Helen Marie Klein, an executive of the non-resident Alaskan native corporation created out of the recent claims act, had been listed as executive secretary of NAIC. She said the \$7-million purchase price was "firm and in hand" but that she was not at liberty to disclose the source of the funds. The first three floors of the hotel were to be devoted to exhibits and offices of the International Cultural and Trade Center, with the remainder renovated as hotel space. Ms. Klein also served as president of the International Cultural and Trade Center, which was formed in 1970 by Washington Oriental art dealer Simon Kriger, who is its chairman.

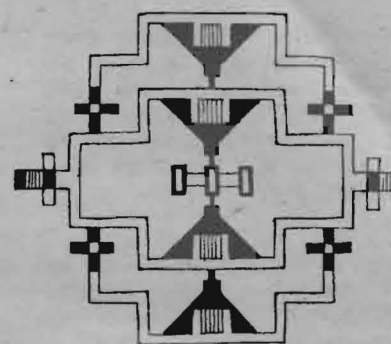
The offer to purchase by the now-you-see-it-now-you-don't native group received wide publicity, although its disappearance attracted little notice.

BLUE-RIBBON COMMISSION TASK FORCES BEGIN TO SCHEDULE HEARINGS, ACTION

Washington, D.C. — With its limited life-span rapidly ticking away, the American Indian Policy Review Commission task forces are commencing their hearings and investigations to determine just what is right and wrong with the Indian policies of the U.S.A.

The task forces have only until July 21, 1976 to complete their studies. Then the Commission will write a report based on task-force findings. After that there will be hearings in Congress.

Each task force is making its own decisions as to how best to proceed. Sherwin Broadhead, chairman of the group investigating federal, state, and tribal jurisdiction, has had initial hearings in July at Mission and Pierre, South Dakota. In early October, there will be more hearings in the Northwestern U.S. and California, and eventually, in New York State. The other members of Broadhead's task force — Judge William Roy Rhodes of Gila River, Arizona, and Matt Calac of San Diego, California — will conduct hearings on their own in order to save expenses and multiply coverage of the task force.



Sam Deloria's task force, for example, is into Federal Administration and the Structure of Indian Affairs, investigating whether the organization of federal services is itself causing problems. Part of that will be a management study of the BIA, and a look at all federal agencies protecting trust assets and rights, or delivering services. It will examine the feasibility of a national elective body of native representatives to consult with government agencies.

At least some task force members said they hoped native groups and interests would get together to man an operation of monitoring the task forces to be sure all factions were heard, and all areas covered from every perspective.

The Commission itself will hold a full meeting in Portland, Oregon, on November 9, the day preceding the start of the National Congress of American Indians annual convention.

In other Commission announcements, D'Arcy McNickle, a Flathead, was named Commission historian, and Ron Trosper, also a Flathead and a University of Washington economist, was named to a position as statistical analyst.

Frizzell seems highly influenced by his special assistant, Louis Striegel, a self-styled terminationist who makes no secret of his belief that Indian tribal affiliations and tribal governments are "Communistic".

Of particular concern is Frizzell's commitment to feeding the U.S. energy habit, even at the expense of native rights and native lands. On August 6, Frizzell addressed the National Petroleum Council, assuring that industry advisory committee that Interior is "determined to move ahead as rapidly as possible" to meet the U.S. energy demands, even considering what he called "an insatiable appetite on behalf of the American people to consume those [finite] resources." Frizzell conceded he would likely make mistakes or errors in judgment in his energy decisions, "but I'll guarantee you they'll be honest mistakes."

Then there is the possibility of Morris Thompson's departure. Sources close to the Commissioner say he may leave shortly in order to run for the position of Alaska representative in the U.S. Congress.

NATIONAL INDIAN ADVISORY COUNCIL NOMINATIONS SOUGHT, 15 VACANCIES

Washington, D.C. — All 15 positions on the National Advisory Council on Indian Education are open for replacement by May, 1976, and the Office of Education is presently soliciting nominations for those positions from native organizations and individuals around the U.S. Nominations will be accepted until October 15.

Two of those eventually chosen will be professional educators, and five will be laymen and students. Five will be named to one-year terms, five for two-year terms, and five for three-year terms.

Nominations are to be made to: Office of Indian Education, U.S. Office of Education, Room 4043, FOB-6, 400 Maryland Ave. SW, Washington, D.C. 20202.

[This essay by Vine Deloria, Jr., first appeared in the Los Angeles Times August 17, 1975, edition. We are grateful to him and that paper for these insights.]

A few years ago, then presidential-adviser Daniel Moynihan recommended that the Nixon Administration adopt a policy of "benign neglect" toward blacks as a means of solving racial problems in America. A cynical cartoon of the time showed an Indian standing behind barbed wire talking with the black, and the caption read, "Believe me, there's no neglect like benign neglect."

Perhaps today, however, many Indians would prefer neglect which was truly benign to the usually directionless and sometimes malevolent policies employed by the [U.S.] Federal Government.

In fact, the caravan on the Trail of Broken Treaties, a group of activists who occupied the Washington headquarters of the Bureau of Indian Affairs during election week in 1972, seemed to freeze federal officials into a posture of deliberate neglect of Indian problems. Since then, the tendency has been to simply ignore the pressing problems of Indians, while pretending that the voices of discontent are raising questions merely for the sake of disruption.

A dreadful sense of unreality thus pervades almost all federal thinking about Indians.

The BIA has, for example, announced that henceforth its efforts to "assist" Indian peoples will focus on the reservations and be channeled through existing tribal governments. Experience, however, seems to indicate that the BIA truly accepts self-determination (a phrase which pops up rather frequently in its press releases) only when tribal wishes coincide with the BIA's. Indeed, this new policy conveniently absolves the Bureau of responsibility for the tens of thousands of urban Indians, many of whom left the reservations in response to the BIA policy of an earlier era.

Meanwhile, on the Pine Ridge Reservation, the trials growing out of the Wounded Knee occupation involved such severe misconduct by both the FBI and the Federal prosecutor that the judge in the case of American Indian Movement leaders Russell Means and Dennis Banks was forced to dismiss all charges. He remarked at the time that

WHO KNOWS WHAT VIOLENCE WE CAN EXPECT?



the Government had "so polluted the waters of justice as to make it impossible to continue the trial."

But when lawyers representing Means and Banks asked for disciplinary action by the Justice Department against the federal employees who had overstepped their authority, they were politely told that the Government planned no such action.

In the two years since Wounded Knee, [almost two dozen] Indians have been killed on the Pine Ridge Reservation in South Dakota. Yet the Government has almost uniformly refused to investigate these killings or other charges of brutality. The usual statement is that federal agencies do not have any evidence available which would enable them to do anything about the oppression at Pine Ridge. When two FBI agents were killed recently, however, the reservation was flooded with agents. Armed helicopters are still seen swarming over the land and screams of law and order are heard.

In Washington State, private timber interests, acting in violation of federal law, blithely clearcut Indian forests, while Bureau of Indian Affairs foresters

throw up their hands. Their excuse is that the federal law prohibiting clear-cutting of forests is only a "moral requirement", not a legal responsibility of the BIA.

Throughout America, Indians continue to slip behind the rest of the population in nearly every category of social progress. The Federal Government responds by issuing reorganizational plans for the Bureau of Indian Affairs every time the outcries of Indians become annoying. Indian programs have become primarily public relations operations, existing mainly in press releases without any visible changes occurring in local Indian communities.

Exploitation of minerals on Indian reservations from Arizona to Montana continues unabated and the Bureau of Indian Affairs refuses categorically to assist the tribes with these very complex problems. It's contention is that since it is a federal agency, it therefore has a conflict of interest if it attempts to assist Indians whose lands contain minerals which figure prominently in governmental energy policies.

In Nevada, the lands of the Shoshone

have been casually confiscated by the Indian Claims Commission.

Congress has refused to develop Indian policies that would allow significant reform. The much-publicized Abourezk Commission, which was initiated to investigate Indian problems in the wake of the Wounded Knee occupation, has set up eleven separate task forces apparently designed to avoid a confrontation with the pressing issues of the day.

The method of congressional madness in Indian Affairs is to authorize so many programs with so many high-level prestige jobs that Indians stumble over each other trying to climb career ladders in the federal agencies. This summer, we saw the spectacle of dozens of Indians fighting for positions on the Abourezk Commission task forces. In my opinion, the commission has been so politicized that little can be expected from the projected two-year study.

On the whole, then, Indian affairs are not going well at all. Treaties are being violated with increasing regularity, and the only exercise of federal trusteeship occurs when tribal plans conflict with the bureaucratic desire to maintain the status quo. When the Jesuit Order wished to cede a tract of land to the Kansas Potawatomis, for instance, and the Indians [refused to go along with a reversionary clause which would leave the property in the hands of the BIA], the Bureau declared their tribal government dissolved. Presumably, it will be reassembled when the tribe agrees to go along with the Bureau.

[In August] a delegation of traditional Oglala Sioux will journey to Washington in an effort to see President Ford and ask him to remove the large number of federal police officers now stationed on their reservation. They are hopeful that their common sense appeal will bring a sense of reality to Administration policy.

Let us hope that their mission will not have been in vain and that they will be able to tear the veil of fiction from the eyes and ears of people in Washington who for nearly three years have seen and heard only what they wanted.

This delegation may be the last peaceful effort that Indians will make in this decade. Unless the bureaucrats are brought to account, who knows what violence we can expect?

National Indian Youth Council Elects New Officers



Albuquerque, New Mexico — At a two-day annual meeting held in tipis at the Mescalero Apache Reservation, the National Indian Youth Council elected new officers, determined priority issues, and set about restructuring the organization to accomplish its new tasks.

Named to the board of directors were Lawrence "Butch" Roberts, Oneida, Milwaukee, Wisconsin, as president; Herb Blatchford, Navajo, Phoenix, Arizona, as vice-president; Viola Hatch, Cheyenne/Arapaho, of Fairview, Oklahoma, secretary-treasurer. Also named were Michael R. Rios, a Papago from Tucson, Arizona; Delmar Hamilton, a Caddo/Kiowa from Boulder, Colorado; James Nez, a Navajo from Albuquerque; and Gerald T. Wilkinson, a Cherokee/Catawba, of Albuquerque. Wilkinson, who has been NIYC executive director since 1968, will continue in that post.

Blatchford was one of the co-founders of NIYC in 1961. At that time, he recalls, NIYC was able to draw young native people together "when people were broke and hitchhiking". Institutes were established in which members "were geared to educating themselves in order to be useful to the Indian community at large."

"Nobody cared about Indians then," he told persons attending the Mescalero meeting. He noted that NIYC had gone beyond its original scope, and is now engaged in helping other people to educate themselves. "No foundation in 1965 would even look at an Indian-generated and Indian-conceived program," he said. He credits the War on Poverty Act for breaking up "a lot of that unresponsiveness."

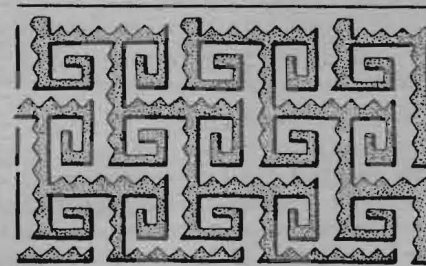
NIYC will hold its next meeting October 4-5 in Albuquerque. Each new board member has been asked to prepare a statement of objectives and priorities for the organization.

NIYC has grown recently from a staff of three to some twenty persons. "We operate a manpower program, a litigation program, and two community schools," Wilkinson reports. "A lot of people have worked hard to bring this about, and a lot of Indian people in the community have encouraged us and supported us in going in the direction we have."

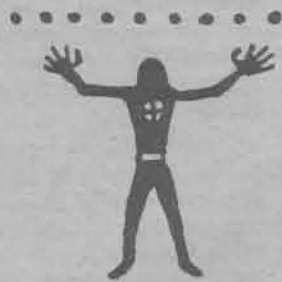
Wilkinson identified critical issues for NIYC as the proposed coal gasification and expanded strip-mining developments on the Navajo reservation, the civil rights of native people in Farmington, New Mexico; brutality and murder of native peoples in the Southwest; analysis of natural resource leases; the partition of American and Mexican Papagos; rights of Indian students and their violation, and the exploitation of Indian ceremonials and arts.

Wilkinson also described new NIYC programs, including the CETA program to raise the level of Indian employment in New Mexico, operation of schools in Albuquerque and Hammon, Oklahoma; the Cherokee, North Carolina, religious project of creating a new tribal stomp grounds for the performance of the Green Corn Dance, and the revival of the NIYC newspaper, *Americans Before Columbus*.

NIYC has also initiated eight suits under the direction of NIYC attorney Thomas Luebben, Jr., and seven more suits are now being drafted for court action. (AIPA)



The Shadow Of W.W. Keeler....."A CHEROKEE WATERGATE"



Tahlequah, Oklahoma — At one time, the Cherokee Nation governed itself by its own law, selecting leaders in its own way. Gradually, the Cherokee people allowed themselves to have U.S.-style elections and controls imposed on them.

In recent years, W.W. Keeler, who was appointed to the position of "principal chief" by the President of the United States, controlled the destiny of the Cherokee Nation, a position he held concurrently with that of chairman of the board of Phillips Petroleum Company. Now retired and having been convicted of violation of U.S. election laws by contributing large sums of oil money toward the election of former U.S. president Richard Nixon, Keeler stepped aside this year in order to make room for Ross Swimmer, a Cherokee who is also president of the Tahlequah First National Bank.

Keeler called elections for August 2, and Swimmer did win. But there are widespread protests, threats of federal court suits, and a growing tide of Cherokees who won't be held down any longer. Swimmer received 278 votes more than his nearest competitor, but amassed only 23% of the total votes cast. Election rules do not call for a run-off.

"We have no authority for handling protests," election committee chairman Kenneth Wright told those who filed complaints. All he could do was to turn the papers over to retiring chief Keeler. The committee did order recounts of more than half the ballots cast. 8,120 ballots were cast in all, although 18,000 Cherokees were registered to vote. Abstaining from voting in foreign elections has been a stance of traditional peoples in many native nations.

James Gordon of Tulsa received 48 more votes than Swimmer in the regular balloting, but when the absentee ballots were counted, Gordon dropped to third place, behind Butler Welch of Claremore.

In a tension-charged meeting of the Elected Cherokee Community Representatives August 9 at the Tsa-La-Gi Inn in Tahlequah — the Keeler-sponsored tribally-owned motel itself is a highly controversial subject — Swimmer and Keeler pleaded for tribal unity.

Only about ten persons were left to hear the plea, for when Swimmer ascended the dias to speak, a dozen or so persons walked out. Keeler asked for cooperation. "Cherokees, this is our time to look at what is in the best interests of all Cherokees, not at what is in the best interests of a handful of people in the tribe." Keeler had held his office for 26 years.

Swimmer is 31. The Cherokee Constitution calls for a minimum age of 35. A new constitution does lower the minimum age to 30, but it has not yet been ratified.

Attorney Rhoem West, representing six of the defeated candidates, said he had "bucketfuls of affidavits" alleging election irregularities, and said he might ask the FBI to investigate possible violations of the Voting Rights Act.

Besides the election, Cherokee activists are alleging a "Cherokee Watergate" is behind sweetheart agreements between Keeler and the Cherokee Nation on the one hand, and Swimmer and his bank on the other. They point to the Philmaid Building, in which his bank was paid \$2500 a month by the Cherokee Nation, while Swimmer had a contract with a historical society to pay the tribe \$2300 a month for the use of the site. The activists allege an \$800,000 loss was sustained by the Cherokee Nation in the last few years of the construction of business properties and housing projects.

Although federal funds and Cherokee Nation monies were used to construct Tsa-La-Gi Inn, the Cherokee Nation doesn't actually own it — it is held by a trust known as Jelunano, headed by Keeler as "lifetime trustor". Jelunano also is the "trustor" of the property of the Cherokee Nation Historical Society, not the Cherokee Nation itself.

Keeler recently liquidated business property to satisfy Swimmer's bank, giving the Cherokee Nation a substantial loss. Swimmer was tribal attorney, also, and thus was the one who drew up the contracts.

The activists say they have documented proof that Keeler made personal loans from tribal funds to his friends, in one case amounting to a \$140,000 note. The loan and the interest have never been paid, but Keeler has disregarded demands of the Cherokee representatives that the loan payments be brought up to date.

The historical society is a corporation which owns the Tsa-La-Gi Theater, where the assimilation-oriented "Trail of Tears" drama is staged each summer. It also owns the Cherokee Village tourist attraction and the Cherokee Museum.

Most Cherokees and the public have been led to believe the Cherokee Nation itself owns the motel complex and controls the theater, but legal documents show otherwise. Keeler insists the trust was used to cut costs in construction of the motel through tax credits. The documents name Cherokee County, one of Oklahoma's counties, as the beneficiary of the trust, and other trustees are the County Commissioners, who have "the authority to lease, rent, furnish, or provide such property for cultural and educational purposes and for use by industrial and manufacturing firms, businesses, or concerns."

Tulsa Ben Hyatt, an Indian activist, obtained the Jelunano documents through the assistance of the American Indian Movement.

When Keeler was asked about the transaction by *Tulsa Tribune* reporter Bill Sampson, he said the Jelunano story began years ago when, shortly after the \$12-million Cherokee Outlet Award of 1964, he began searching for a way to best invest the money left after a per-capita payment to Cherokees.

This is the way Keeler and Swimmer maneuvered the situation, all of it perfectly "legal". A trust indenture dated July 20, 1972, conveyed to Jelunano all of the Cherokee Nation Historical Society's "property, proceeds, returns, profits, and increases thereof" for \$1.

On September 12, 1973, the "Cherokee Nation" conveyed to Jelunano for \$10 a warranty deed to the tract of land on which Tsa-La-Gi Inn and other businesses are now located. Keeler signed the deed as principal chief, over to Jelunano.



The next day, Jelunano borrowed \$1.2-million from the National Bank of Tulsa (now the Bank of Oklahoma), granting a first mortgage on the tract and improvements upon it, and enough of the rental fees, to secure promissory notes for the loan. Keeler says the money was used to help finance construction of Tsa-La-Gi Inn.

On the same day, the Cherokee Nation, with Keeler as signer, entered into a lease-purchase agreement in which it agreed to pay Jelunano \$11,099 monthly for 15 years to lease the "retail restaurant, arts and crafts shop, club and motel business" now located on the tract which the tribe had conveyed the previous day to Jelunano for \$10.

J.D. Johnson, a candidate for Cherokee chief, Keeler, and Cherokee Leon Daniel, a Tahlequah merchant, now are the trustees of Jelunano, serving "indefinite terms".

Thus Keeler will continue to play a major role in tribal affairs because of his trust position, regardless of who would win the election. Keeler also endorsed Swimmer for chief — Swimmer's name appears as notary on one of the Jelunano documents.

A formal inauguration for Swimmer was scheduled for September 6, Cherokee Nation Holiday. U.S. Commissioner of Indian Affairs Morris Thompson was scheduled to attend. Swimmer has pledged to continue the programs established by Keeler. "I really believe he got the tribe going in the right direction," he said.

When asked about the conflict of interest as chief of the tribe and chairman of the trust, Keeler said he felt he was acting in the best interest of the tribe.

Keeler (and now, Swimmer) do not have to answer to the Cherokee people — they need answer only to the Secretary of the Interior and the President of the United States about tribal administration. He is not legally bound to follow the voted recommendations of a group known as "community representatives."

Such transactions may not be entirely new to Keeler. He and three other former executives of Phillips Petroleum have been charged by the Securities Exchange Commission (SEC) in U.S. District Court in Washington last March with the disbursement "in excess of \$2.8-million in Phillips corporate funds to two Swiss corporations by means of false entries on the books and records of Phillips. Said disbursements were converted into cash and in excess of \$1.3-million was returned to the United States. Of this latter sum, approximately \$600,000 was expended for political contributions, a substantial portion of which was unlawful," says the SEC.

Keeler already paid the maximum fine of \$1,000 following his December 4, 1973, conviction of making an illegal contribution of \$100,000 to Richard Nixon's 1972 presidential campaign. Despite this conviction, he was allowed by the Secretary of the Interior to remain in office as Cherokee chief. A criminal investigation of Phillips Petroleum began before a federal grand jury in Tulsa September 3.

Keeler was appointed principal chief in 1949 by U.S. President Harry S. Truman, and reappointed by successive presidents until 1971, when the first election was held for the office. He is said to be 1/16th Cherokee.

In 1973, a group of AIM Cherokees took over a meeting of the National Congress of American Indians being held in Tulsa to protest the formation of the special trust, charging that Keeler had "sold the Cherokees down the river." After a 2½-hour dialogue, the NCAI passed a resolution asking the solicitor of Indian Affairs to seek a probe by a U.S. Attorney into alleged misuse of the funds, but the Cherokee group had difficulty in sustaining official interest in the investigation. Oklahoma newspapers seemed to be unwilling to mention the issue.

Keeler once described his work with the Cherokees as the same as his work with Phillips Petroleum, the U.S.' tenth largest corporation. "Every day, we look at what we are doing, and if we're not making money, then we do something about it. I want to get the Cherokee programs built up to going concerns so that I'll just become a shadow with things progressing whether I am there or not."

The shadow of W.W. Keeler is what is causing the protesting Cherokees concern still today.

WHAT DO WE CHEROKEE PEOPLE WANT? AN HONEST ELECTION

[This commentary is by Ramona Williams, a Cherokee from Tahlequah, Oklahoma, on the recent election of Ross Swimmer as "chief" of the Cherokees.]

The Cherokee people have just had imposed upon them an election which can in no way be construed as a fair and democratic process of electing the chief. It was more like a selection than an election.

Once again, the Cherokee people have been railroaded by big business, power, and money. It is time we set the record straight.

In the Cherokee election for chief, there were ten candidates. Tahlequah First National Bank President, Ross Swimmer, obtained 23% of the vote. There was no run-off election. With this small percentage of the vote, Swimmer has seized the office of chief against the protest of the Cherokee people.

Ross Swimmer has tried to lead the public into believing that the only persons protesting the election are the candidates who lost.

This is not true. The Cherokee people detest the political chicanery and manipulation which out-going Chief W.W. Keeler found necessary to use in order to insure a victory for Swimmer. 77% of the Cherokee voters stated at the polls that they do not want Swimmer as chief. The major cause for concern is not that the candidates lost, but that the Cherokee people lost.

Swimmer has charged the other candidates with wanting to change the election rules since the election is over. At the inception of the filing period, Keeler changed the election rules by edict, in order to make his candidate, Swimmer, eligible. It was Keeler who was the first to start changing the election rules by lowering the eligibility age for candidacy from age 35 to age 30 — Swimmer is age 31. This change was not with the consent of the people or their elected representatives.

What do we Cherokee people want? First, we want an honest election in which all candidates for the office of chief are eligible to run. This should be followed by a run-off election. Second, we want a chief elected by at least 51% of the voters. Third, we want strict adherence to an electioneering distance limit of one-hundred feet as prescribed by law. Last but not least, we, the Cherokee people want an end to all threats and intimidations. Fear tactics of this nature are characteristic of tyrants, not respectable officials democratically elected by a majority of the people.

The Cherokee people must have a democracy, not a dictatorship. We are no longer going to sit passively by and accept the kind of flagrant demagoguery to which we have far too long been subjected.



The Northwest

"Now the whiteman is everywhere, with his machines and garbage and destruction. No matter how far your trapline is from town, bulldozers may run over your traps. No matter how far your bush camp is from town, you might have an exploration crew staging their equipment there. Lakes are blasted, and the fish and muskrats are killed. Creeks are blocked and the fish don't run. Maybe the noise and fumes of the bulldozers will scare away the caribou and foxes. . . . The native people are threatened in a way that they have never been before."

— report from COPE



Native People Prepared To Die To Block Mackenzie Pipeline

Yellowknife, Northwest Territories — Two announcements from the North made headlines across Canada this summer. One was that native people were prepared to die to block the pipeline proposed for the Mackenzie River Valley. The other was that the native people of the North below the treeline considered themselves as the Dene Nation, and demanded that Canada deal with them as such.

"We, the Indian nation of the NWT, insist of the right to be regarded by ourselves and the world as a nation," says the statement, passed at the second general assembly of the Indian Brotherhood of the Northwest Territories and the Metis Association of the NWT.

"Our struggle is for recognition of the Dene nation by the Government and the people of Canada, and the people and governments of the world." Dene Nation means "the people" in the language of the four major groups in the Mackenzie River Valley — they are relatives of the Navajo Nation, which also calls itself "Dine".

The statement says that Canada must not continue to regard the land as its own, but that native claims should be recognized. The Dene people would form their own Government — they are now in the majority by a 3-1 margin, and for the first time gained a minority on the Canadian-controlled territorial council.

"We are like many other countries in the world that have taken back control of their own lives," Wally Firth, a native man and member of the Canadian Parliament told the 300 delegates.

"You have to realize that your leaders are more representative of the majority of the people in this territory than any elected politician. The point today is not how we are going to set up the structures of Government. The point is that we are ready and able to do so and you must support our leaders in trying to do this."

Firth said the claim that natives now have on 450,000 square-miles of the Western Arctic is "perhaps too small." He suggested that Indian and Metis people claim all the land from the northern borders of the provinces of Canada-proper, north to the treeline.

"White people always want to know where we'll get the money to run this nation of ours," Firth said. "Well, we have the gold and the natural gas and the oil and the tungsten and many other resources, renewable and non-renewable. How much would it cost to run such a Government? Well, we have the resources and the ability and if there's some place where we lack certain expertise, then we can hire it."

The statement of rights is being discussed now in the villages in the Mackenzie Valley, where it will be revised, if necessary, by local peoples.

Earlier, the conference was told by George Manuel, president of the National Indian Brotherhood, that Ottawa is "totally committed to extinguishing your claim on the land in return for a little land — one square mile per family of five — and some money, exactly as they did in James Bay. All you have to do is to look at your brothers in the south on the reserves to see how poor and powerless they are — that's why the Government wants to extinguish your claim to the land." Manuel said that the Government fears the success of the northern native people, because then "all the other natives will want more."

In other moves, the delegates called for amendments to territorial liquor laws that would allow liquor outlets to be closed by request of local councils. They said the "white man's law (is) destroying natives through drinking." Chief James Antoine had persuaded the NWT Government to close all liquor stores in Fort Simpson for the duration of the five-day assembly, but the white town council secured a judgment forcing the territorial liquor board to reopen all outlets. White businessmen said the shutdown would prove too costly.

In Ottawa, Indian Affairs and Northern Development Minister Judd Buchanan called the idea of a native nation "abhorrent". He said "two nations in the Northwest Territories is no more acceptable there than in any other part of Canada."

Chief Frank P'selei told the Mackenzie Valley Pipeline inquiry that his people would not allow the pipeline to be built. In a 20-minute speech to the hearing sitting in the Hairskin community of Fort Good Hope in early August, he said that the Dene, meaning "The People" are saving their land for their children.

"It is for this unborn child . . . that my nation will stop the pipeline. It is so that this unborn child will know the freedom of this land that I am willing to lay down my life," Chief P'selei said.

One of the listeners was Robert Blair, president of Foothills Pipeline Co., one of the applicants for pipeline approval by the Canadian Government. He was told by Chief P'selei, "I cannot understand how a man can live for wealth and power, knowing that his ambition and greed is destroying so much around him. I do not envy you, Mr. Blair, I feel sorry for you."

He added, "Somehow, in your carpeted boardrooms, in your panelled office, you are plotting to take away from me the very centre of my existence. You are stealing my soul."

The chief accused the pipeline company president of being like the U.S. military "planning the slaughter of innocent Vietnamese". "Don't tell me you are not responsible — you are the 20th Century General Custer — you have come to destroy the Dene Nation."

Blair was told he still had a chance "to be remembered by history as something other than a fool bent on destroying everything he touched."

After the session, Blair announced that he was willing to delay construction for up to ten years or so, waiting for a "substantial improvement in the attitude of the residents". He said his company could wait to allow land claim negotiations to take place between northern native peoples and the Canadian Government.

Blair didn't take the accusations as seriously as he might, however. "I think [Chief P'selei] was speaking more in a symbolic way. I don't think he was speaking specifically of our company destroying anything."

The pipeline route is to be only a few miles from Fort Good Hope, closer than to any other settlement. It would carry natural gas from the Far North to markets in the south.

"I was surprised by 'just how intense and deep' the anti-pipeline feeling is and how desperately the people want their land claims settled," Blair commented. "I think what has struck me most is the continuity of it," he said, noting that village after village throughout the north, speaker after speaker, had condemned the pipeline. He said he thought the pipeline industry had seriously underestimated the seriousness of the situation.

Even the small concession of delay announced by Blair was not agreeable to rival pipeline builder Canadian Arctic Gas Pipeline Ltd. Officials of that firm said Alaska can only wait so long to pipe out the gas.

While Berger was appointed in a hoopla of Canadian Government publicity about fair play to native people, government officials began quickly to dig the sand out from under him and the word is out — Canada is going to go ahead with the pipeline regardless of what the hearings find.

The \$7-billion project will bring Alaska and Mackenzie Delta natural gas to market. In addition to native opposition, a rival group wants an all-Canada line, and environmental groups have points to make. Economists argue that so much money will have to be borrowed from foreign sources that Canadian exports to balance the budget will rise to the point where customers can't afford them. Other opposition will come from those who want to transport the gas by rail and by airplane.



— Native Press

James Washee . . . Dene

There are those nationalistic Canadians who don't mind taking land from native people, but don't want to see the gas used by the United States. Canada already exports 47% of its natural gas.

Arab money may be used for financing. When the line reaches the border, one leg will go south to California, and the other east to Pennsylvania — at a cost of another \$3-billion. The line will be 48 inches in diameter, buried seven to eight feet underground. Employment for the project would be about 7,500, but that would be only for about three years. The pipeline would have less than 400 permanent employees.

Berger was appointed more than a year ago. At that time, native people weren't prepared to bring in the voice of the villages, and so he secured \$600,000 from Ottawa so that native and public interest groups could present their case. He allowed almost a year for them to mount their opposition.

Arctic Gas Pipelines, a consortium of more than 20 multi-million dollar corporations like Imperial and Shell, are opposing even letting native people testify in the hearings. They say that native claims have nothing to do with a northern right-of-way for the 2,600-mile line. "Northern land claims is an issue to be resolved jointly by the native people and the Government of Canada," says Arctic Gas press releases.

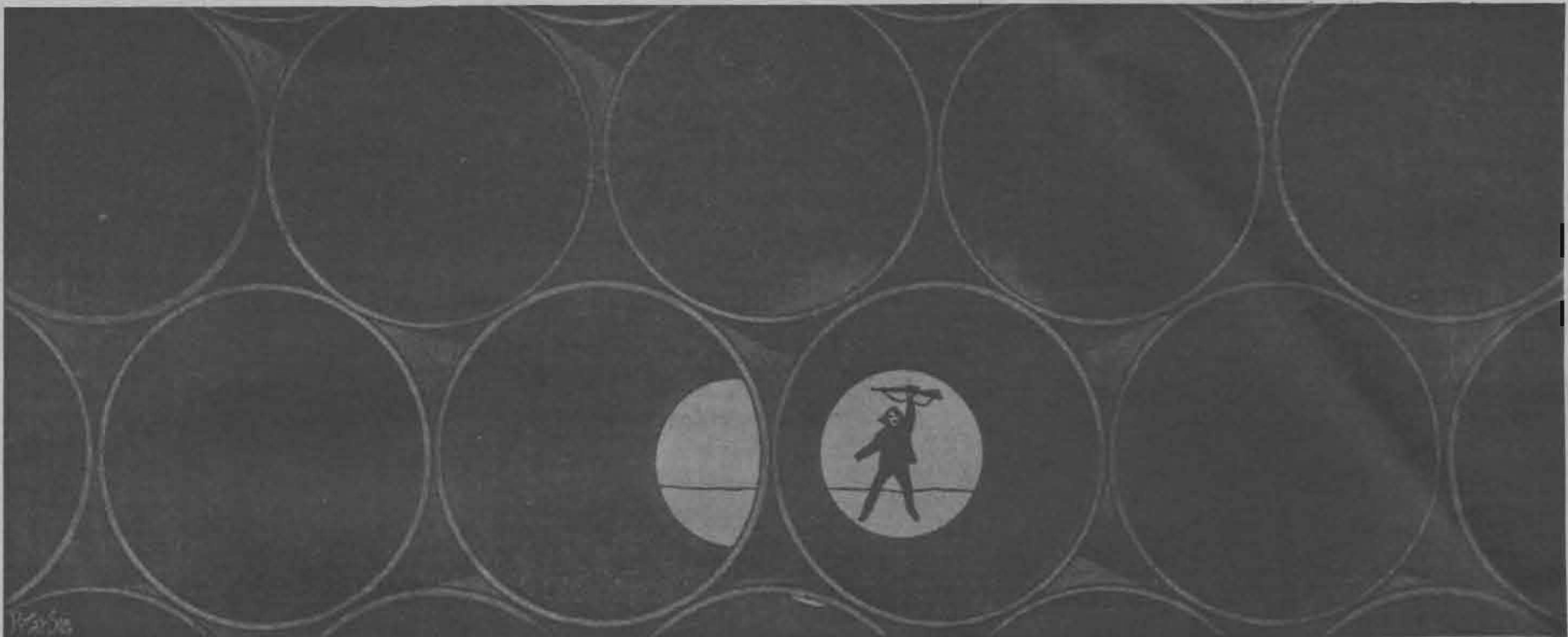
It says the line will require the equivalent of 40 square miles of land, and that it will deposit a fair price to be picked up once the land claims are settled. Native people say that if the pipeline goes through now, there will be no pressure on the Government to settle claims.

James WahShee, president of the Federation of Natives North of 60, says flatly that the native people will go to court to seek at least a temporary halt to the project if arguments before Judge Berger, and another set of hearings before the National Energy Board, fail.

Included in the Federation are Northwest Territories Indian Brotherhood, Metis Association of NWT, Inuit Tapirisat of Canada (Eskimo Brotherhood), the Committee for the Original People's Entitlement (COPE) and the Yukon Council of Indians.

Ottawa has not been noted for its sincerity in listening to the native viewpoint. In 1972, officials calmly ignored all their own pious cant about environmental protection and commenced construction of a highway down the Mackenzie without the slightest attempt to evaluate its future social and environmental impact.

"LOOK AT US AND WHAT WE STAND FOR, BEFORE YOU ACCEPT WITHOUT FURTHER THOUGHT, THAT INDIAN NATIONS MUST DIE"



— Vancouver Sun graphic

[During the summer, the Mackenzie Valley Pipeline Inquiry has been conducting informal hearings in the tiny communities along the route of the proposed "development". The inquiry, under Mr. Justice Tom Berger of the B.C. Supreme Court, is investigating the regional environmental, social, and economic impact of the pipeline — however, his findings are advisory to the Canadian Government and have no power to stop the pipeline.]

[Fort McPherson, near the junction of the Peel and Mackenzie Rivers, hosted the hearings during the second week of July. Mr. Justice Berger heard 62 individual submissions, of which 61 were anti-pipeline. A native man, Philip Blake, who works as a social worker in Fort McPherson, gave the hearing an overview of the reasons for the community's rejection of the pipeline.]

[Thanks to the Vancouver Sun, which gave full-page coverage to Philip Blake's statement.]

I am not an old man, but I have seen many changes in my life. Fifteen years ago, most of what you now see as Fort McPherson did not exist. Take a look around the community now and you will start to get an idea of what has happened to the Indian people here over the past few years.

Look at the housing where transient government staff live and look at the housing where Indian people live. Look at which houses are connected to the utilidor [a grouping of pipes servicing homes with sewers and water]. Look at how the school and hostel, the RCMP and government staff houses are right in the centre of town, dividing the Indian people into two sides. Look at where the [Hudson] Bay store is, right on top of the highest point of land.

Mr. Berger, do you think that this is the way the Indian people chose to have this community? Do you think the people here had any voice in planning this community? Do you think they would have planned it so that it divided them and gave them a poorer standard than the transient whites who come in, supposedly to help them?

Take a look at the school here. Try to find anything that makes it a place where Indian values, traditions, and culture are respected. It could be a school in the suburbs of Edmonton, Toronto, or Vancouver.

Do you think Indian people would have chosen a building like this as a way to teach their children how to be proud of their Indian heritage? Do you think Indian people chose to have their children taught that the only way to survive in the future is to become like the white man?

Look around you — look at this building, find out who the teachers are, find out what they teach our children, find out what regulations there are in this school, find out who decides these regulations, who hires the teachers and who fires them. This school is just a symbol of white domination and control. It is part of a system set up to destroy Indian culture and to destroy our pride in our Indian heritage.

It is only part of that system. Look at some of the other parts.

Do you think people chose to live in rental houses, owned by the government, instead of in houses they built for themselves and owned by themselves? Do you think they chose to have a system of justice which often they cannot understand and which does not allow them to help their own people and deal with their own problems? A system which punishes Indians for stealing from the Bay, but does not punish the Bay for stealing from the Indians?

Do you think that they chose to become cheap labor for oil companies, construction companies and government, instead of working for themselves and developing their own economy in their own way?

In short, Mr. Berger, can you or anyone else really believe that we Indian people are now living the way we have chosen to live? Can you really believe that we have chosen to have high rates of alcoholism, murder, suicide and social breakdown? Do you think we have chosen to become beggars in our own homeland?

Mr. Berger, you are well aware that hundreds of years ago, in Southern Canada and in the United States, many Indian civilizations were destroyed. In some cases, this was done simply by killing off the Indian people who occupied land that was valuable to white settlers. In other cases, it was done by restricting the Indians to small reserves where they could no longer hunt and fish and make a living from their land.

In all cases, it was pretty clear that whatever the white man wanted, the white man got. When he wanted greater land for farming, he cleared off the trees and he cleared off the Indians. When he wanted to dig gold or minerals from the land, he killed the Indians who tried to defend their own land.

In James Bay, when the white man decided he wanted to again play God and change the course of mighty rivers so he could make money and power from them, he corralled the Indians into reserves and [commenced] to flood Indian lands.

The nations of Indians and Eskimos in the North have been slightly luckier. For a while, it seemed that we might

escape the greed of the southern system. The North was seen as a frozen wasteland, not fit for the civilized ways of the white man.

But that has been changing over the past few years. Now the system of genocide practised on our Indian brothers in the South over the past few hundred years is being turned loose on us and our Eskimo brothers.

Don't be silly, you may say: we're sorry about what we did in the past. We made some mistakes, but it's different now — look, we give you education, houses, and health services.

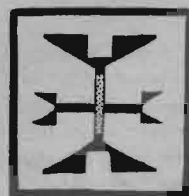
Mr. Berger, the system of genocide may have become a little more polished over the past few hundred years, in order to suit the "civilized tastes" of southern people who watch Lloyd Robertson [an evangelist] on the national [television] but the effect is exactly the same. We are being destroyed.

Your nation is destroying our nation.

What we are saying today, here and now, is exactly what Louis Riel was saying roughly a hundred years ago.

We are a nation — we have our own land and our own ways and our own civilization. We do not want to destroy you or your land — please do not destroy us.

You and I both know what happened to Louis Riel. Yet now, a hundred years later, your prime minister is willing to say that Louis Riel was not all wrong. He's willing to say that a hundred years later, but is he willing to change the approach that destroyed Riel and his nation, and is now threatening to destroy us?



I'm sure throughout your visits to native communities, Mr. Berger, that you have been shown much of the hospitality that is our tradition. As a people, we have always tried to treat our guests well. It never occurred to us that our guests would one day claim that they owned our whole house. Yet that is exactly what is happening.

White people came as visitors to our land. Suddenly they claim it as their land. They claim that we have no right to call it Indian land — land that we have occupied and used for thousands of years, which just recently the white man has come to visit. And suddenly, he claims it to be his own. Is this the great system of justice of which your nation is so proud?

Look at what happened to France during the Second World War. Germany moved in and occupied the land that France claimed as her own. At that time, Canada seemed willing to help a people whose land had been unjustly taken. Now the same thing is happening to the Indian nations of the North. Your nation has suddenly decided to move in and occupy the land that is rightfully ours.

Where is your great tradition of justice today? Does your nation's greed for oil and gas suddenly override justice? What exactly is your superior civilization that [it] can so blindly ignore the injustice occurring continually over one-third of the land mass in Canada and yet barely gets reported by your TV or newspapers?

One-third of the land mass of Canada is under a direct colonial rule, yet you seem willing only to talk of igloos and polar bears and snow when you talk about the North. One has to read about South Africa or Rhodesia to get a clear picture of what is really happening in Northern Canada. While your newspapers and television talk about the sports fishing up here, we as a people are being destroyed and it doesn't even merit any coverage.

Look at us and what we stand for, before you accept, without any further thought, that the Indian nation must die.

In many parts of the world, people are starving. It is said that two-thirds of the people of the world go to bed hungry each night. We, as Indian people, are sometimes accused of not being willing to share our resources.

But what of this absurd scheme that Arctic Gas has dreamt up? What does it offer to those who are starving? Does it promise to use our resources and our land to help those who are poorer?

It suggests exactly the opposite. It suggests that we give up our land and our resources to the richest nation in the world, not the poorest. We are threatened with genocide only so that the rich and powerful can become more rich and more powerful.

Mr. Berger, I suggest that in any man's view that is immoral.

If our Indian nation was being destroyed so that the poor people of the world might get a chance to share in this world's riches, then as Indian people, I'm sure we would seriously consider giving up our resources.

But do you really expect us to give up our life and our land so that those few people who are the richest and most powerful in the world today can maintain and defend their own immoral position of privilege? That is not our way.

I strongly believe that we do have something to offer your nation, however, something other than our minerals. I believe it is in the self-interest of your own nation to allow the Indian nation to survive and develop in our own way, on our own land.

For thousands of years, we have lived with the land. We have taken care of the land, and the land has taken care of us. We did not believe that our society has to grow and expand and conquer new areas in order that we could fulfill our destiny as Indian people.

We have lived with the land, not tried to conquer or control it, or rob it of its riches. That is not our way.

We have not tried to get more and more riches and power. We have not tried to conquer new frontiers, or outdo our parents or make sure that every year we were richer than the year before. We have been satisfied to see our wealth as ourselves and the land we lived with.

It was our greatest wish to be able to pass on this land to succeeding generations in the same condition that our fathers had given it to us. We did not try to improve the land and we did not try to destroy it for that is not our way.

I believe that your nation might wish to see us, not as a relic from the past, but as a way of life, a system of values by which you may survive in the future. This we are willing to share.

If your nation chooses instead to continue to try to destroy our nation, then I hope you will understand why we are willing to fight so that our nation can survive. It is our world. We do not wish to push our world onto you, but we are willing to defend it for ourselves, our children, and our grandchildren.

If your nation becomes so violent that it would tear up our land, destroy our society and our future and occupy our homeland by trying to impose this pipeline against our will, then, of course, we will have no choice but to react with violence.

I hope we do not have to do that, for it is not the way we would choose. However, if we are forced to blow up the pipeline, I hope you will not look only on the violence of Indian actions, but also on the violence of your own nation which would force us to take such a course.

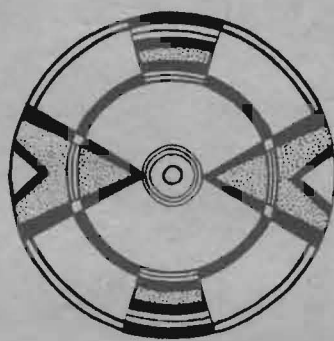
We will never initiate violence. But if your nation threatens by its own violent action to destroy our nation, you will have given us no choice.

Please do not force us into that position, for we would all lose too much.

Mr. Berger, I believe it is because I am a social worker here that I have, in a sense, had to make some sense out of the frustration and desperation that people in this community, and others along the [Mackenzie] Valley, are feel-

ing. I have therefore tried to read as much as possible of other situations in Canada and in the world.

It is clear to me that the pipeline in Alaska has not been any part of progress — whatever progress may mean.



Where progress should mean people getting greater controls over their own lives, greater freedom, the pipeline in Alaska appears to have driven people into the ground, along with the pipeline. Clearly, we do not want that here. Perhaps it is also because I am a social worker that I am aware what steps my people may take in reaction to the building of a pipeline here.

Mr. Berger, it should be very clear by now what are the wishes of the people

along the Mackenzie Valley regarding a pipeline here. I do not believe you or anyone else could misunderstand what the native people of this valley are saying.

Obviously, if we lived in any kind of a democratic system, there would be no further talk of a gas Arctic pipeline. The will of the people has been made very clear.

If this consensus, if the will of the people is not respected, then I appeal to you, and all the people of southern Canada, to respect and support us in our efforts to re-establish democracy and democratic decision-making in our Indian homeland.

I guess the question for Southern Canada is simply: which side are you on? Are you on the side of those who are trying to frustrate our attempts to find freedom and who are, instead, trying to destroy the last free Indian nation?

Mr. Berger, I guess what I'm really trying to say is: can you help us, and can we help you make sure the will of the people is respected?

After all, isn't that supposed to be what Canada once stood for? Can we, as an Indian nation, help Canada to once again become a true democracy?

The Inuit Of Greenland: A Brief History

(This analysis is by Malik, an Inuit who came from Greenland to travel around the Iroquois Confederacy to learn about the meaning of sovereignty and to establish links with the people here. He and his companion, Iisaq stayed at Ganienkeh to learn more about the Great Law of Peace and at AKWESASNE NOTES, where this essay was written. They planned to return home from Canada by dogsled across polar ice.)

In 1721, a Norwegian priest, Hans Egede, went to Greenland to preach Christianity to the Norsemen, descendants of Erik the Red, that his history books told him he would find there. But the Norsemen had died out centuries before, and Egede decided to stay on to convert the Inuit who are native to that land.

He was told to leave, but this strange qallunaq, white man, settled down and the Dark Ages for the Inuit culture began.

Egede's journey was blessed and financed by the King of Denmark as well as merchants, and Egede established a colony for them at Nuuk or Godthab, the Denmark's colonial capital town still today.

The colonizers carried disease from Europe, and many Inuit died in those first years. No one really knows how many — perhaps 34,000 of the 40,000 residents perished. Egede converted the survivors and Greenland is still a Lutheran stronghold.

Before Egede's arrival, the Inuit lived in cooperative settlements all over the coast. Many families shared big houses. The colonizers traded useless things for skin and fat and before long, the Inuit lacked the materials for clothes, tents, houses, boats and kayaks, and their dependency on the Danes increased.

As the Inuit became Lutherans, nobody was allowed to sing songs or carry on traditions considered "works of the Devil." Big houses were split and divided into individual family units, eliminating the working societies necessary for whalehunting. Also lost were the angakkoqs, medicinemen, and the songs and legends of the Inuit People.

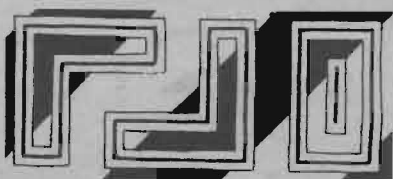
The Inuit in Greenland gradually became mere workers for the colonists, who shipped seal fat, skin and bards to European factories. In return they received manufactured products, an exchange guaranteed to leave them at the bottom of the growing European capitalistic society.

Europeans took over the whalings and whale factories grew up on the coast. As the prices of sealskin in Europe increased, seals were killed, especially in their breeding grounds in Newfoundland, almost cleaning out the species.

The arrangement the King of Denmark had with other sovereigns was for an exclusive trading monopoly with Greenlanders. The Inuit had to sell to Denmark, and it was only from Denmark that they could buy those things they had become dependent upon.

As the Inuit lost their traditional ways, their children were taught European methods of living which are not appropriate to the land. For instance, the traditional stone and dirt houses were no longer built, and instead, frame houses were constructed — and since Greenland has no timber, Inuit had to import those items from Denmark. Leather clothing gave way to cotton cloth, oil lamps were exchanged for kerosene stoves, etc. It was a new market for both trader and missionary.

Instead of truly developing the economy of Greenland, the foundation was laid for a system of exploitation of raw materials. The means of production remained in Europe, and the only development was on transport and communication necessary for removal of resources to "the mothercountry." Colonies were established in locations where there was open water the year around to facilitate shipping — even though such places are not necessarily the best places to live.

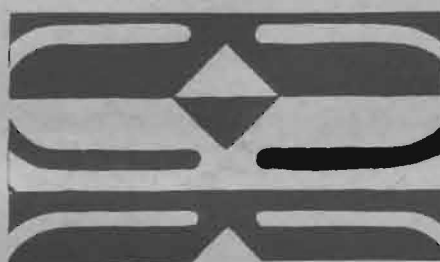


In 1908, two Landcouncils — one in the North and one in the South — were established, theoretically to handle internal affairs, but actually a bridge from mother Denmark to suppress and exploit the Inuit through their own people, members elected for four years.

When World War II broke out, Greenland came under the "protection" of the USA, which constructed military airbases in south, west, and north Greenland. In return for the "protection," the US got cryolite, a resource vital to the military industry.

In 1950, the policy changed and the decision was made to "develop" the Inuit for civilization and to prepare them to enter the great wide world. In

1953, the Danish people voted that Greenland should be a part of Denmark rather than a colony. Although the Inuit were never asked, the Landcouncils, which had become rural aristocratic agencies alienated from their own people, voted to unite into one council. Greenland's merger with Denmark was then recognized by the United Nations.



While this may have been the end of classic colonialism there, it was the beginning of neo-colonialism and Danish cultural imperialism. The goal envisioned in changing the legislature in 1950 was to establish Greenland as a carbon-copy of the Danish way of life.

Towns were invaded by modern-day Egedes, Danes who came to "civilize and build up poor Greenland." With the cooperation of the Landcouncil, new industrial plans were devised, which will require engineers and workers from Denmark to achieve.

Greenland is still being exploited as a market for the capitalistic society. Inuit children are taught in a Danish school system by Danish teachers teaching Danish language and Danish culture. The Landcouncil created a new salary system in which the Inuit are paid only half of the salaries paid to white people.

Most of the Danish workers stay only a season and are mostly men. They make a lot of social problems in the towns as they stay in barracks and drink a lot. Danish stores and supermarkets sell mostly unnecessary things, products from Danish industry. Everything should be Danish, it seems — even the Inuit.

The result is a demoralized, deprived, discriminated against run over people. Because of the concentration of the Inuit to man fish factories, there is the sickness of the capitalistic system: great unemployment to keep the workers sharp. People are moved to the towns faster than the expansion of the apartment buildings. There is a lot of drinking and crime and the usual social problems as families are split, the young sent away for Danish education, and the old ones placed in old-age homes. Drink, drugs and suicide are common outs.

In the Davis Strait and in the fiords inside the coast, a lot of cod have moved in since the 1920s. That should be good for the fishermen, but traditionally, the Inuit there are hunters, not fishermen. Moving into large-scale commercial fishing is not done overnight, and in the meantime, fishing fleets from the same nations that killed off the whales and the seals are fishing out the cod. These nations bring whole fishing factories on their ships and stay out for many months.

Instead of developing an economy around these resources, Denmark brought Greenland into the European Common Market although the Greenlanders voted against it 74%. Now investments have been made in big harbors to exploit uranium, zinc, oil and iron. The Ministry of Greenland, the Danish Government, and, of course, the Landcouncil, opened the doors for multinational corporations to search for oil on the fishbanks near the coast. That would not only mean exploitation of resources, but the importation of tens of thousands of foreign workers. Right now, the Inuit population is about 41,000 and there are about 10,000 Danes living on Greenland.

In Greenland too there is talk of "self-determination". This will mean the moving of offices from Copenhagen to Greenland, but this will give Greenland only more offices, not independence. The national paper and the radio are talking about culture, a Greenlandic culture, and the new nationalistic movements are talking about more equality and non-discrimination.

But nobody much is talking about independence — except some young Inuit Greenlanders, who belong to the "Young Greenlanders Council". The organization was born in Copenhagen among the thousands of youth sent to Denmark for education. When they return home, they are certain to create a new ideology and new eyes to examine the relations between Denmark and its colony, Greenland — or Kalaallit Nunaat, the Land of the Human Beings, as the Inuit call it.



These youths are seeking out Inuit who live the traditional way, the hunters, as the key to the identity which they must establish in themselves, the same identity, their grandfathers had, instead of that of Denmark.





The life cycle of the Creation is endless. We watch the seasons come and go, life into life forever. The child becomes parent who then becomes our respected elder. Life so sacred, it is good to be a part of all this.

This poster is from a photograph by Charles Brill, which appeared in his book, *Indian And Free: A contemporary Portrait of Life on a Chippewa Reservation* published by the University of Minnesota Press, portraying the Red Lake Band of Chippewas in Northern Minnesota. The book itself is available from AKWESASNE NOTES for \$9.75, hardcover — 142 pages, and 160 photographs. This is one of a series of 25 posters from the centerfold of AKWESASNE NOTES. Reprints on colored poster paper are available at 3 for \$1, or 50 cents each, plus 50 cents for a cardboard mailing tube and shipping. Order from: AKWESASNE NOTES, Mohawk Nation, via Roosevelt town, N.Y. 13683 U.S.A.

RESERVATIONS FOR VIETNAMESE "REFUGEES"? WHAT NEXT? A B.V.A? (BUREAU of VIETNAMESE Affairs)



— UPI photo
Tent City, Guam, for
the "untrainables"
and "undesirables",
the "Indian treat-
ment"

Indiantown Gap, Pennsylvania — Officials and citizens are now discussing whether they will offer "the Indian solution" to the tens of thousands of Vietnamese who were transported out of Vietnam when the U.S. withdrew. They are commonly known as "refugees", and the solution is commonly known as "reservations".

Officially, the massive relocation scheme is called "Operation New Life." Already, after a few months in the dusty endless rows of Tent City at military bases in California, Arkansas, Guam and here in Pennsylvania, over a thousand of the Vietnamese have officially applied to be returned to an uncertain future in their own nation. Most of them are quickly relocated to still another compound so their disaffection will not become contagious.

The choice of Indiantown Gap Military Reservation near Harrisburg is an ironic choice of a home for 15,000 Vietnamese. The garrison has been since Colonial times a base from which white men have fought territorial wars against peoples of color. Susquehannock native peoples were made extinct by battles staged from the forts and blockhouses. And it was the last command post of Col. Orrin Henderson, the highest U.S. Army official named in the cover-up of the My Lai massacre of Vietnamese civilians.

Officials talk privately of plans to create reservations for those who are undesirable or "untrainable". John Eisenhower, the former president's son who is chairman of a civilian refugee-resettlement committee, speaks candidly if sadly of the possibility that some of the refugees might very well live out their lives in a refugee camp — which has all sorts of implications, such as taking their children away to boarding schools, management of their affairs, etc.

Montagnard tribesmen brought over will be resettled in remote mountain areas of Western Washington. "Their knowledge of the outside world is so little that for sheer survival they must remain together," says Nick Thorne, director of the refugee program.

Thorne said the Montagnards will be placed in villages of their own in an area where the altitude and climate most nearly match that of their lost homes on the Laos-Vietnam border. Washington State officials said they had not been informed of the plans.

Thorne said most of the tribesmen had never been more than 3 miles from their homes before being flown to the U.S. He recommended that they be given jobs with the National Park Service because they are "good woodsmen." He said residents of Washington shouldn't worry about the Montagnards appearing on welfare rolls — "their standard of living is not very expensive."

Reverend Carl McIntire, the conservative fundamentalist preacher, is planning a different kind of village. His will be at his tourist complex at Cape Canaveral, where he has brought some 40 refugees to live in a re-created "Vietnamese village" just "like one our boys went into during the war," he says.

Besides being a tourist attraction, these modern-day Indians will make porcelain elephants, vases, and other items "that Americans love so well." If the Reverend can, he wants to establish another refugee hamlet — for Cambodians.

The new immigrants are receiving health services from the already-overburdened Indian Health Service. Of all people of North America, the native people have the largest unmet needs in health care, but the gaps will grow bigger as added stress is placed on medical and administrative staff caring for the Vietnamese.

In the newly-established reservation at Camp Pendleton, 15,000 refugees may not leave the base, but unlike Indian reservations, an enormous effort has been made by the Marines and volunteer groups to cater to their needs within the camp. There are variety shows, sports, free food, clothing, medicine and schooling, plus laundry areas, television, inexpensive post exchanges. And there is no demand that they should work.

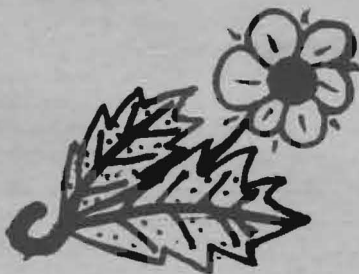
Despite the patriotic sentiments, civilian coordinators of the camps were expressing deep concern. "We think these camps are a path possibly to an Indian reservation of indefinite term. We haven't done well with real or simulated Indian reservations in the past," said Donald MacDonald, 56, who came back to help the refugee situation after retiring from the State Department last year.

"Denied, denied, officially denied," was the response of Eleanor Green, public affairs officer for the State Department's refugee taskforce. "This report is totally incorrect." Implying that the Vietnamese would not be treated like Indians, she said that "no specific areas are being set aside to place refugees in any discriminatory way."

While U.S. officials say that the camps will be emptied by Christmas by a relocation program much different than native people experienced in the 1960s, most observers distrust that prediction.

Even if that is true, the long-term successful absorption of the Vietnamese into American society may be difficult. The refugees are walking symbols of an unpopular war, and the initial reaction of conscience-stricken compassion may be matched by the desire to blot the whole dismal episode from the national memory.

The speedy resettlement seems to be based more on efficiency than on human need. So far, \$65-million has been appropriated for aid to about 42,000 refugees, about 5,000 of whom are receiving welfare assistance now. But money may be no remedy for the dwindling public interest which has dropped sharply since the dramatic days of last spring when the eye of the television cameras was focused on the persons who had to get out of town quickly.



To be sure, the decades of war spawned refugees by the millions throughout Indochina, but the U.S.' tender concern was not for those made homeless by B-52 raids, nor for those maimed by napalm and anti-personnel bombs, nor for those who suffered in the prisons and torture chambers directed by U.S. interrogation experts.

Most of the refugees are those South Vietnamese who feared reconstruction of their country under the new rule. They include ex-employees of U.S.-owned corporations, former U.S. and Saigon government officials, agents from the CIA's bloody Operation Phoenix Program, and other South Vietnamese citizens and family members who played either a conscious or unconscious role in supporting the Thieu regime.

Some of the refugees, men wearing dark glasses and carrying officially-created false identities, were given preferential treatment when they arrived. Critics of the CIA's "preferred refugees" point to the regularity with which the murky world of cloak-and-dagger intelligence operatives overlaps with narcotics trafficking, organized crime, and the political far right. They fear that the anti-communist exodus from Vietnam may have an impact similar to that of the anti-Castro Cubans who have made Miami the drug-smuggling capital of the U.S., a base camp for covert operations from the Bay of Pigs to the Watergate Burglary, and the main domestic financial center for laundering illegal funds.

In the fifties, the French intelligence community brought their most compromised Vietnamese collaborators to Paris when French troops withdrew from Indochina, and these experienced assassins came to play an important part in the violent unofficial repression of those who supported Algerian independence when the next colonial war unfolded. Even if the ex-Phoenix agents in the U.S. refrain from violence, their political presence can only strengthen the very forces which fostered the U.S.' debacle in Indochina in the first place.

Although most of these people had literally sold their souls to support the American invasion of their country, they were met with a fair amount of hostility from U.S. people — "They are carriers of tropical diseases." "A Gook Klux Klan should be formed." "Ship them back where they came from." "They would make good bookends — they're small."

This is hostility Asians in the U.S. have come to take for granted, and the coming of the Vietnamese has intensified that feeling.

The fact that these Vietnamese have fled and were "rescued" will symbolize and justify a right wing, anti-communist element similar to the Cuban refugees in the U.S. today. Like the Cubans, it is likely that the younger children will be educated and trained in the U.S. to eventually return, disrupt, and overthrow the new existing government.

The irony is that the bloodbath in Vietnam under the new government is no where in view, and was likely more the creation of U.S. myth-makers than not.

The Ford Administration has asked for \$507-million for the relocation program, although only 36% of U.S. citizens questioned in a Gallup poll favored allowing the Vietnamese to remain. Some of the opposition was pure racism — and other opposition was because people recognized who the refugees were.

"These people that have got the dough and have been selling heroin for the last ten years — I say no," was the reaction of a Los Angeles woman. "I don't want these people that shoved women and children off planes."

Others objected to having such massive immigration in the face of high unemployment rates in the U.S. U.S. President Gerald Ford said he was upset by the opposition, because "the United States has had a long tradition of opening its doors to immigrants from all countries."

Some of the Vietnamese families consist of as many as 25 adults and children who do not want to be split up. Sponsors in various cities are not eager to host such groups.

Dr. Constance Katzenstein of the Wright Institute called the current treatment "misplaced humanism." "We're being sweet to these nice, middle-class people. It's a traditional American gesture, but at the same time, it's a kind of paternalism. We're infantilizing them dreadfully. What service have we done these people? We've alienated them from their culture, jerked them out in a 'humanistic' fashion. They're going to meet a lot of hostility."

Katzenstein suggests that the truly humanitarian thing to do would be to facilitate the return of the refugees to Vietnam.

The Vietnamese provisional government has asked the United Nations to get replies from the potential returnees to a 29-item questionnaire with such pertinent queries as: "Why did the person leave Vietnam?" "Why does the applicant wish to go back?"

Some Congressmen have demanded that resettlement authorities complete extensive security investigations on all Vietnamese to be assimilated into the general U.S. population. Officials aren't certain what constitutes an "undesirable refugee" or what to do with them now that they have them. Leonard Chapman, director of the U.S. Immigration and Naturalization Service, says those who don't pass the security checks won't be allowed to settle in the U.S., but U.S. law also prohibits the involuntary repatriation of those who fail the checks.

[Thanks to Muriel Dobbin of the Baltimore Sun's Washington Bureau, and to Andy Rose of the Militant for parts of this information.]



BLACKFOOT PRISONER'S MURDER MADE TO LOOK LIKE SUICIDE

Great Falls, Montana — A 22-year-old Blackfoot man, Clayton Hirst, who was found dead in the Glacier County Jail in Cut Bank, Montana, in March, has been found to have been killed by electrocution, rather than hanging as officials had announced.

County Coroner William Riddle said Hirst's death was a "self-inflicted hanging". But an autopsy performed by the San Francisco Medical Examiner's Office in July after the body was exhumed and sent to California revealed Hirst had been electrocuted.

The youth's family, along with the Blackfoot Indian Nation, have filed a \$35-million civil suit in U.S. District Court in Great Falls August 19, charging that Hirst was electrocuted by authorities whose discrimination against Blackfoot prisoners has been a regular custom.

Melvin Belli, a San Francisco attorney who filed the suit along with Philip Roy, says that Hirst's death is a backlash to the recent movement by Blackfoot people to assert their rights. "The more the Blackfoot press their rights, the more inhumane and barbarous is their treatment," he said. "Clayton Hirst was intelligent, vocal, and proud of his Indian heritage, and for this reason, Glacier County jail authorities electrocuted him to death."

Hirst had been arrested February 28 on a charge of excessive drinking. He was held in the city jail until March 5, when he was transferred to the county jail on a charge of malicious mischief.

Defendants named in the suit include Glacier County, City of Cut Bank, State of Montana, Attorney General Robert Woodhal, Glacier County Sheriff Jean Gertzen, Coroner Riddle, Cut Bank Police Chief William Bruch, Glacier County Attorney John Moore, County Deputy William Koepke and others.

No criminal charges have been filed in the death. The only way for the family to proceed was to file suit that Hirst had been denied his constitutional rights.

Authorities said Hirst died after hanging himself with his belt, but family members contend Hirst seldom wore a belt, and was not wearing one the night he was arrested.

Earl Old Person, Blackfoot Tribal Council President, said the tribe was a participant in the suit because it is a trustee of the rights of all Blackfoot. The council provided \$3,000 to cover costs of the investigation and exhumation.

Angry Montana officials say they have complete confidence in their local coroner. "We are not about to change our minds about it just because some yahoo from California says something else," says county attorney Moore.

The "yahoo" was Dr. Robert Wright, a professor of pathology at the University of California Medical Center, who has performed autopsies for more than 18 years for San Francisco County. He reported that Hirst's neck showed no signs of hemorrhaging, which usually occurs in hangings. Two small burns were found on the back of Hirst's left hand, "consistent with a two-wire 110-volt electric device coming in contact with a ground," Wright says.

Montana's attorney General sent two officers to Glacier County to look into the case — among the things they are checking is whether the two private investigators Hirst's family retained to check on the case were working illegally.

[Thanks to United Tribes News, published monthly by the United Tribes of North Dakota Development Corporation at 3315 S. Airport Road, Bismarck, N.D. 58501, and to the American Indian Press Association for information used here.]

YVONNE WANROW WINS APPEAL; NEW TRIAL GRANTED IN MURDER CASE

Spokane, Washington — Yvonne Swan Wanrow, who had been convicted of second-degree murder in the slaying of a man who had sexually molested her children, has been granted a new trial by the Washington State Appellate Court. [The Late Summer issue of AKWESASNE NOTES carried a full report on her case.]

With a new trial, finances are needed badly to insure a strong defense. Letters of support, petitions, and contributions can be sent to:

Yvonne Wanrow Legal Defense Fund
POBox 49
Inchelium, Washington 99138

Everett, Washington — The second bombing of Bureau of Indian Affairs administrative offices on the Pacific Coast in as many months took place here August 6. The bomb, believed to have been dynamite, was packed in clothing inside a suitcase, and was placed outside the door. There were no injuries, and damage was estimated at \$10,000.

"A New Kind Of Nourishment" — COAL



An attendant sets the time of the next showing of a film by Shell Oil Company at the annual Crow Fair and Rodeo. Besides the free film, the Crows were given trinkets like key chains and pen lights.

— New York Times/
William Tutokey photo

Crow Agency, Montana — There was a new display at the 57th annual Crow Tribal Fair this year.

Among the taco stands and jewelry booths was a huge Shell Oil Company trailer, making a sophisticated hard sell of the benefits of progress and a few trinkets. The price: the right to strip mine the Crow Reservation.

Shell is after 148-million tons of coal in a 30,000-acre section of their 2.2-million-acre reservation. The corporation had incensed tribal officials a few weeks before the fair by sending each Crow family a letter promising a \$200-a-person bonus, payable immediately, if the tribal council could be persuaded to sign an agreement with Shell in August.



— New York Times graphic

Native people in the area can use that kind of money any time of the year, particularly in August when there are relatives and friends coming in for the fair, pow-wow clothing to be obtained, back-to-school needs arising. But in a display of unanimity, the tribal council fired off its own letter charging that Shell's bonus offer was "an insult to the intelligence of the Crow People."

Robert Howe, head of the Crow minerals committee, called the letter "a classic example of people trying to exploit the ignorance of our people and their economic condition."

For its part, Shell said it was just trying to communicate with the Crow people. John G. Anderson, the local Shell representative, admitted the letter had failed. The followup: the trailer at the tribal fair. A sign outside promised: "Free Movie & Gift".

Inside, Shell representatives handed out trinkets, and then showed their captive audience a 15-minute film on the virtues of selling Shell Oil your land for coal development.

The narrator of the film noted that the Crow had once relied on the buffalo to provide for their economic well-being. "Earth Mother is still providing for her children," he declared, by giving the Crow "the new buffalo" — "a new kind of nourishment" — coal.

The film promised the Crows would have training, jobs, prosperity. Stripped lands would be reclaimed even better than the Creator had been able to do the first time around. Glorious days were ahead for the Crow People.

A few years ago, tribal leaders had welcomed the idea of development for their poverty-ridden area. They originally agreed in 1973 to allow Westmoreland Resources on the Crow's Sarpy Creek land just north of the reservation boundary. The original agreement called for a flat royalty of 17½ cents a ton on the mined coal. But when another company offered a tremendously higher amount, the Crow knew they had been had, and were able to re-negotiate for a royalty of 40 cents or 8 per cent of the selling price, whichever was higher.

First, though, they had to void all coal leases on tribal land pending more careful studies. Like their neighbors, the Northern Cheyenne, the Crow have set up an office of coal research and have begun to educate themselves about an energy boom which until now was of little concern to them.

A poll taken recently found almost half of the 6500 members of the Crow Nation in favor of strip mining. But it also found that 90% of the tribe knew nothing of the details of the coal leases, and a large majority said they didn't want the mining if it meant the ruination of their lands.

"We're not going to have any more ripoffs," vows Patrick Stands Over Bull, the tribal council chairman.

"The people are more knowledgeable about coal than in the past," explains Jiggs Yellow Tail, tribal council vice-chairman. "We entered into agreements without knowing the full impact."

Michael Ross, a white former VISTA who heads the office of coal research explains that the Crow now want the best possible deal, "and not strictly in terms of money." The council, he says, "also wants to control new town developments, land-use planning, and water."



Barney Old Coyote, now the president of the Washington-based American Indian National Bank, comments on the Appalachian experience, where "companies came in, took all the goodies the land had, and left the people with spoil-banks. We don't want young people to come back here years from now to see only spoil-banks and wonder what their ancestors did. We want development only if the Crows can translate their resources into lasting benefits, instead of just some money into the pockets of current members."

[Thanks to Grace Lichtenstein of the New York Times Rocky Mountain office.]

justice in farmington?

Farmington, New Mexico — The recent deaths of four Navajos — three men and one young woman — have renewed already-strained fears and tensions among native people in the area of this small border-town just east of the Navajo Reservation.

Merle Burton, 70, a Navajo from nearby Fruitland, was assaulted and tortured June 12 by having a broom handle shoved repeatedly up his rectum at his home on the reservation. He died of severe internal injuries the following day. Relatives at his bedside quoted the Burton as saying a "white man" had assaulted him.

Either with macabre humor or extreme naivete, two FBI agents and a BIA policeman then proceeded to arrest Farmington's only albino Indian. He was later released after proving that there was no way he could have been involved.

Following Burton's death, however, the FBI reopened an older case of the slaying of one Jack Benally, a Navajo killed in the same area where Burton was tortured. Benally's death had been ruled due to natural causes, although he had been stuffed into a vehicle.

The FBI also agreed to re-examine the violent deaths of three young Navajo girls at Greasewood, Arizona, near Lupton.

On June 21, Lucinda Many Goats, 14, a Navajo from Shiprock, was killed when she was struck by a speeding Navajo tribal police car driven by a non-Indian policeman just south of the old Fairchild plant. After being hit, she was dragged about 150 feet by the vehicle. No legal action resulted.

On July 7, Rodger Victor was found hanging in a back cell of the Farmington City Jail. Police ruled the death was a suicide, but the family is considering a criminal suit against the police, a local hospital, and mortuary for the burning of Victor's clothing.

Kenneth Davis was found dead in the "holding cell" immediately facing the booking desk at the Farmington Jail the following day. Police say the death was caused by chronic alcoholism, but the Davis family is awaiting a final autopsy report and the advice of attorneys before proceeding in the matter.

Civil Rights Hearings Reported

These recent deaths are part of a long-established pattern recently documented in detail by the New Mexico Advisory Committee of the United States Commission on Civil Rights.

Gerald Wilkinson, Committee member and executive director of the National Indian Youth Council, said that the hearings showed "beyond question that Farmington is a racist and sick community which treats its Navajo citizens in many respects like animals. Its public officials for the most part have been shown to be flatly racist and incompetent to deal with other human beings. Services provided to Indian people have been shown to be minimal at best. Employment discrimination, consumer fraud, and brutality go unabated. As for attitudes, the Farmington public is not indifferent to Navajo people — they despise and ridicule them."

Committee member Carnis Salisbury, a black woman, said that while the whole story is told in the report, if it just remains in book form, "nothing will be accomplished."

The lengthy report begins with a comprehensive history of the Indian-white relations in Farmington in the spring of 1974 following the brutal beating deaths of three Navajo males, on-and-off efforts by the city government to deal with rapidly-growing Navajo unrest, and the birth of the militant Coalition for Navajo Liberation. The report examines minutely the anatomy of the political, legal, social, and economic structures of the small community of about 25,000, and finds that all parts of that anatomy creates suffering and hardship and injustice for the Navajo people.

Sterling Black, chairman of the state civil rights committee, told the press there was the possibility of continuing interracial violence in the trouble-plagued border town. "The dangerous situation we perceive is an impending clash between forces going in opposite directions." Younger Navajos, he warned, "want something done to better the situation of their people. And the ideas of the establishment are in headlong opposition to younger Navajos. There may be a clash if the forces continue to move in different directions. I abhor violence on all sides, but some people feel violence is the answer."

Black said "the atrocities committed against these people are worse than anything I heard while I was a child growing up in the South," but he said he felt there was a better chance in Farmington for communication between whites and Indians than between southern whites and blacks.

The report charges that the Navajo people and their lands are the main props for the economy of Farmington, but while Farmington prospers, the Navajos continue in poverty. Proposed coal gasification plans

have not been assessed for their full potential impact on tribal life, the report states.

The advisory committee's report was immediately challenged by Farmington Mayor Marlo Webb, who assailed the study as a "collection of half-truths, innuendos, statements out of context, falsehoods, and unrealistic and illogical conclusions." Webb said the report "will only widen the gap that now exists between the two cultures and has contributed little, if anything, to permanent solutions."

Pride was reasserted by native people in the Farmington, New Mexico area, as they united to protest against violence and discrimination. Hundreds joined the marches down Farmington's main street, and other Navajo by-standers clapped for the messages on the signs as the march passed by.



Wilkinson noted that Mayor Webb had embarked on a course of "suppressing any revolt against the conditions of life no matter how intolerable." He said the mayor had disbanded human relations committees, funded SWAT squads, and rejected government programs under the excuse of wanting freedom from government control.

"While at once doing nothing for Indian people, the city has fervently preached the glories of the proposed \$4-billion coal gasification plants on the reservation which will triple the size of Farmington. It is evident that if these plants are built, the social and personal horrors described in the report will also at least triple. Farmington no longer deserves to make money off people it does not respect."

Farmington, he said, "has been shown to be a blight on the State of New Mexico and a parasite on the Navajo Reservation." He called for the entire public of New Mexico to bring pressure upon the city of Farmington to shape up.

The report found that many elected officials and civic leaders had failed to promote positive relationships among the various cultural groups they serve, that there were no procedures through which discrimination could be relieved, that the city has not addressed itself to serious social and human problems.

Noting that the Farmington Police Department employs only 3 Navajos out of 74 employees, the Advisory Committee found that there was no training available to ensure that Anglo officers had cultural awareness or sensitivity to minority peoples. Furthermore, liquor laws are not enforced, leading to alcohol-related offenses and arrests of Navajos. Many Navajos cannot understand the court procedures, which are conducted in English, and translating services are irregular.

Over a 5-year period, approximately 15,000 Navajos were arrested for alcohol-related offenses — over 80% of those arrested in Farmington are Navajo, and approximately 90% of the arrests are connected with abuse of alcohol. Although other municipalities use a variety of methods of coping with inebriated persons, Farmington relies entirely on protective custody.



Besides the Farmington problems, the N.M. Advisory Committee found "that the health care situation for Navajos living in the northwestern part of New Mexico is at a crisis stage." Charging that the present Public Health Service/Indian Health Service hospital at Shiprock is "inadequate to meet the needs of the Navajo people living in its service area," and noting that private medical facilities in the region are limited, the investigators said that confused jurisdiction often meant persons in need of care were refused attention.

Contract Medical Program by which the IHS can pay medical bills of persons getting private care is limited to \$25,000 annually, an amount which the Committee said was insufficient.

All of this is a result of, or contributed to, by an economic system which binds the Navajo to Anglo domination. That situation is likely to become worse when gasification and industrial development projects hit the reservation — environmental pollution and disruption of existing patterns of social organization are likely to result.

Deaths Bring About New Life

In April, 1974, the bodies of three Navajo men were found in separate locations in the rugged canyon country near Farmington, their bodies severely beaten, tortured, and burned. The brutality of these three crimes provoked immediate and angry outrage from the Navajo community. The seemingly-tranquil way of life in Farmington abruptly ended — the slayings were the catalyst for bringing protest of conditions to the surface. Much of the Anglo community in Farmington found itself not only ill-prepared to deal with the situation, but felt confused, threatened, and frightened.

There were meetings and parades and demonstrations, the first in the city's history. Shops and bars were closed as native people from all parts of the state marched side-by-side down the streets of Farmington in a display of support for justice and sympathy for the bereaved families whose members led the march.

When the city officials seemed unable to respond to the expressed needs, the New Mexico Advisory Committee to the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights sent personnel to Farmington. On May 15, 1974, a 6-hour-long meeting with over a 100 native persons was held at the San Juan Episcopal Mission Church, situated on a hill overlooking Farmington.

During the course of the evening, at least 50 persons came forward to express their feelings and to describe specific examples of serious violations of their civil rights. The vast majority spoke in Navajo, emotionally and yet precisely pleading their case for a thorough investigation of the discriminatory practices they alleged.

Members of the families of the slain Navajo men, seated in the front row of the church hall, expressed their grief, suffering, and a concern that justice would not prevail. They pleaded for assistance to assure that their people would no longer be subjugated and exploited. One Navajo man rose to talk about the recent crimes, saying that "the killings reflected the white man's inhumanity and contempt for all mankind — no Navajo would so callously disregard the value of human life."

Navajo students from local junior and senior high schools related several humiliating experiences they had endured, including ridicule, harassment, and exclusion from extracurricular activities. Navajo employees of local businesses described attitudes of their employers they considered disrespectful and demeaning. Navajos told how they had suffered when the local hospital refused to serve them and insisted on transporting them to the Indian Health Service facility in Shiprock, some 30 miles away.

Economic problems were described — only a few Navajos are among the 500 persons employed by the city. Indians are charged inflated prices and interest rates, and U.S. Treasury checks were being withheld by merchants.

Alcohol-related problems were felt to be serious. The non-Indian businessmen were turning alcoholism into

profit — the witnesses called for a closing of all local "Indian bars". A litany of complaints regarding the lack of adequate housing, social services, and representation in decision-making was also aired.

Inaction Brings More Protests

The Coalition for Navajo Liberation, frustrated by the refusal of the city officials to accord it recognition or heed its demands, announced plans for marches on downtown Farmington every Saturday. Tension rapidly mounted in Farmington as downtown merchants, angered by a substantial decline in weekend trade, insisted that public officials take more strenuous measures to obstruct the Coalition's tactics.

On Friday, June 7, 1974, a hearing was conducted before District Judge Frank B. Zinn at the county seat in Aztec to determine what action should be brought against the three white high school students accused of the Navajo triple slaying. Because of a recently-passed State Juvenile Code, the proceedings were not open to the public, and Judge Zinn would not permit relatives of the Indian victims, their attorneys, or representatives of the news media into the courtroom. But the results were announced: the youths were sentenced to attend the New Mexico Boys School at Springer for an indefinite period, not to exceed their 21st birthdays. The district attorney's motion to bind over two of the youths to adult prosecution was denied.

The outcome of this legal proceeding, coupled with the judge's refusal to admit the victims' families to the hearing room, produced an outcry of suspicion, indignation, and disgust in the Navajo community. As expressed later by Peter MacDonald, appearing before the N.M. Advisory Committee, "It is beyond me how the Anglo legal system works, or how justice is rendered. I know that many Navajo people, and perhaps even Anglo people... wonder why it is that three youths who murdered the Navajos... were not even put in jail but were handled with kid gloves and were given a very small sentence to reformatory school."

The Coalition of Navajo Liberation had requested, and was denied, a parade permit for the next day, Saturday, June 8, on the grounds that a permit had already been granted to the Sheriff's Posse for its annual rodeo parade. Coalition leaders joined the throng of spectators observing this ritual of reverence for traditions of the Old West. Conspicuous among the participants in the parade was a mounted ceremonial unit from Fort Bliss, Texas, dressed in frontier cavalry uniforms, similar to those worn by those who came to the Southwest to oppress the native people.

Coalition leaders, insulted by what they considered to be a manifestation of insensitivity, attempted to block the progress of the parade by stepping into the street, and when they refused to move, a melee ensued. Police launched tear-gas canisters, and the large crowds of people, Indian and non-Indian alike, fled in panic.

The disturbance resulted in 31 Indian arrests, and because of the inability to locate a judge, none of these persons were released until Monday, June 10. While formal charges were dropped in some cases, felony charges were brought against one of the principal leaders in the Coalition, Wilbert Tsosie, and misdemeanor charges were filed against other Coalition members. Tsosie, in testimony before the Committee, recalled the significance of the incident:



— ABC photo

Carrying signs with slogans such as "Farmington Survives by Indians — Why Murder them?" and "We Have the Right to Live Without Fear For Our Lives", "If Only Custer Could See Us Now," "Justice in Farmington", and "Let Humanity Exist," the Farmington main street was swelled with the old and the young as the march stretched fourteen blocks long.

"The city was willing to promote racial scorn by allowing a public display of the cavalry unit in the Sheriff's Posse Parade... There is historical documentation — the cavalry was used as an instrument of the United States Government... to subjugate the Navajo Indians. It is through this instrument that the Navajos have been in bondage of white greed, white exploitation, and white racism. The Coalition for Navajo Liberation has successfully shown that we are not to be mocked by... public display of our oppressors — the parade was never completed, fortunately."

To aggravate the situation even further, a special "Navajo Relations Committee" which had been appointed by the mayor with great fanfare, collapsed on the night of its very first meeting when an Anglo representative objected to what he considered "abusive language" by a Navajo member of the Coalition, sparking a verbal confrontation, some resignations, and eventual dissolution of the committee by Farmington's mayor, Marlo Webb. The mayor felt "this was a clear demonstration of the total unwillingness of the Coalition to work with us in a responsible constructive manner."

Fred Johnson, Coalition leader, maintained that if the Anglo members of the committee had been "truly interested in coming to grips with the problem of the city, they would not have resigned, regardless of the language... Navajos here have faced a lot more than abusive language for a long time."

Governor Bruce King expressed grave concern at the steadily-deteriorating situation, and sent his chief personal aide, Frank De Luzio, to Farmington to survey the situation. As a result, the Coalition for Navajo Liberation was able to develop a constructive relationship with state officials and agencies — a series of meetings between Indian people and state agency heads were held to discuss issues of concern.

Another important victory for the Coalition came as a result of legal action instigated by the City of Farmington to deny the granting of additional parade permits — the city obtained a state-court injunction against the parades. The Coalition took the issue before a Federal District Court in Albuquerque, which upheld their right to conduct peaceful protest marches. Coalition leader Fred Johnson hailed the decision as "one of the few major victories" gained by the Indian people in Farmington. He also promised that the marches would be peaceful: "We are a peaceful people and we are very sincere in our grievances. We will be marching for our rights."

Legal maneuvering continued, however, with the city again seeking in state court to enjoin further Indian demonstrations. Eventually, an out-of-court settlement was reached between Coalition and city attorneys which permitted continued parades, but established stricter guidelines regarding routes, times, and other procedural aspects.

The Navajo Civil Rights Commission, meanwhile, scheduled several hearings during the summer to listen to Navajo complaints in Farmington. Following one of its hearings, the commission members went to a Farmington restaurant, and after being totally ignored, finally got up and left. They protested to the city council about this apparent example of discrimination, and the city officials offered an apology.

The Coalition for Navajo Liberation reissued its request that the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights hold public hearings in Farmington, and in a rally and press conference held in Albuquerque on Saturday, August 1, the National Indian Youth Council and the Coalition insisted that in the absence of hearings, the groups would "issue a national call for continuous demonstrations in Farmington each day of the month."

A three-day open meeting was convened by the New Mexico Advisory Committee to the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights in late August at the San Juan County Fairgrounds. More than 85 individuals appeared before

the Committee, including municipal, county, and tribal officials; law enforcement and judicial authorities; economic, health, and social service specialists; and representatives of community groups.

A New Spirit of Activism Awakened

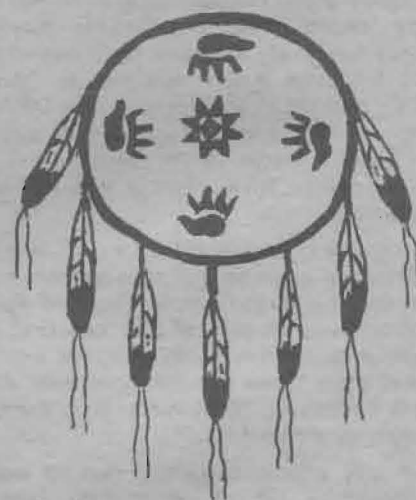
The Navajo murders near Farmington in April, 1974, awakened a new spirit of activism among many Navajos which demanded a re-examination of existing relationships. Throughout the long turbulent summer, the city

found itself becoming more polarized and less able to deal with the increasing hostility, racial tension, and unrest. The Coalition for Navajo Liberation became more strident, more insistent, in its demands.

Farmington became a national news media dateline. In journals such as *Time Magazine*, *National Observer*, and the *Washington Post* articles were published concerning the murders, the new Navajo militancy, and the response of the local non-Indian community.

The city leadership expressed its dissatisfaction with the manner in which the community was being portrayed in many of the news stories. Under intense pressure, the city representatives turned to elected tribal officials outside of Farmington for assistance. Mayor Webb issued a plea in midsummer for greater involvement of the tribal establishment: "It is absolutely necessary for the welfare of the Indian and non-Indian alike that elected tribal officials assume a more active role in the resolution of the problems of their people. If tribal leaders remain silent, it will appear that the only voice of the Indian community is the Coalition."

Despite the fact that the Coalition for Navajo Liberation was composed primarily of Navajos who reside or have roots in San Juan County, the mayor and most city and business leaders refused to recognize the organization's legitimacy to act on behalf of Navajo people in Farmington, and therefore refused to negotiate with it or even discuss its demands.



"I don't approve of the militant attitude of outside forces that have come into being," the president of the Chamber of Commerce said.

"These parades could be caused by subversives, you know, Communists, for instance," a city councilman thought.

"The ones that are protesting have come from other places. They're a bunch of outsiders that are trying to get things stirred up. I've talked to some of the local Navajos and hell, they don't have any complaints," an auto parts dealer said.

The Mayor told the press, "We have been subjected to false, fictitious and unwarranted charges [and] have been unable to get any cooperation from the trouble-makers and accusers, whose sole motivation appears to have been to generate publicity and advance their own cause."

"170,000 fine Navajo people who live in this area, the Southwest, are not being truly represented by the militant few," the chairman of the Board of County Commissioners said.

The owner of a nearby trading post failed to comprehend the Coalition's reaction to the Navajo torture deaths. "I can sympathize with the families of those that were killed... and yet, really, murder is a common-place thing in our society. Everybody is getting killed — not everybody, but it still happens daily. And you don't have to be a racist to kill anybody."

Coalition leader Fred Johnson responded to the charges. "Despite the fact that thousands of Indian people have joined in the marches we have organized in Farmington to protest white racism, despite the support we receive from the vast majority of Navajos, they have attempted to characterize us as irresponsible radicals who do not truly represent the people." Johnson said Farmington "looks upon us as a clear and present danger to white society simply because we have exposed much discrimination... To us, to protest is an act of intellectual commitment. We are dedicated to seeing that there is a better life for people in San Juan County."

Local support for the Coalition for Navajo Liberation in the Anglo community was almost non-existent. One exception was the San Juan Human Rights Committee, a small group of moderate individuals who hoped to bring the divergent groups in the community together. The mayor of Farmington expressed his belief that the SJHRC was not representative of Farmington's interests. Jim Fassett, chairman of the SJHRC, had his own opinion about Farmington: "Perhaps one day the name Farmington will rank right up there with Selma and Birmingham."

[continued on next page]

Rev. Bill Cleaver, president of the Farmington chapter of the NAACP, was the only non-Indian deeply involved in the Coalition's activities. He later told the Advisory Committee: "[It] astonishes me how some citizens of Farmington can say there is little or no discrimination in Farmington. . . How long will Farmington refuse to see the afflictions of the needy? How long will it refuse to hear the cries of the oppressed?"



But, for many years, Farmington escaped this moment of reality. Indeed, relations between Navajos and Anglos were frequently described to Commission representatives by local Anglo residents as "warm and cordial". As Richard Hughes, attorney for DNA/Navajo Legal Services in Shiprock compared it with similar attitudes toward blacks in the South, "the warmth comes from dealing with someone you feel secure in knowing as your inferior."

But this attitude of paternalistic goodwill was tempered by substantial criticism and even hostility at alleged inequities favoring Indian people. Time and again, Civil Rights personnel were told of the "benefits" enjoyed by Navajos such as free health care, tax exemptions, welfare and other forms of public assistance. As a local store clerk exclaimed, "We have to keep them . . . It's our money they are spending."

A former city official suggested that all welfare to Indians should be cut off immediately. Such drastic action, he explained, would force Navajos to become responsible for their own well-being.

These accusations are deeply resented by Navajo leaders. John Redhouse, in his testimony before the Advisory Committee, asserted, "It is fallacious thinking to assume that Indian people in San Juan County are receiving free government hand-outs. . . The resources that are being exploited on the reservation are . . . the property of the Navajo people. . . The income that is derived from the exploitation of these resources should be spent to provide adequate services to the Navajo people."

Largely as a result of Navajo energy resources, San Juan County is the second-most-affluent county in the State of New Mexico. Its income will at least double upon the completion of planned coal gasification plants. Its tax base even now is heavily dependent upon industrialization which has occurred on the reservation.

The Navajos have suffered injustices ever since the first Anglo set foot on the land, Peter MacDonald says. The Anglos have a need to dominate.

Bryon Caton, assistant district attorney for San Juan County, told the Advisory Committee that the practice of "desecrating the integrity of an individual by rolling and robbing an intoxicated person" is a common occurrence in Farmington. "I think there is an attitude held by some individuals . . . that is conducive to treating Navajos and intoxicated persons not like people but like things."

John Redhouse, who graduated from Farmington High School several years ago, believes that the Navajo murders committed by the three Anglo students were a direct result of this type of abusive behavior. "We didn't see the murders as the acts of three crazy kids — we saw it as part of a whole racist picture. For years, it has been almost a sport, a sort of sick, perverted tradition among Anglo youth of Farmington High School, to go into the Indian section of town and physically assault and rob elderly and sometimes intoxicated Navajo men and women of whatever possessions they had, for no apparent reason other than that they were Indians."

The victims of these crimes are often victims as well of a disease considered by many Navajos to represent the worst enemy of their people — alcoholism. "First we want to remove the scourge of the white man's alcohol that is destroying the spiritual and physical strength of our people," declares Fred Johnson. Acting as a private citizen, he filed a lawsuit in district court in June, 1974, seeking to have six bars in the Farmington area closed as public nuisances.

"These bars encourage and make possible drunkenness," Johnson points out. "Drunkenness causes scores of deaths and injuries each year. These six bars rely almost exclusively on Navajo business — they are clearly and definitely public nuisances. But we are also appealing to the moral sense of these bar owners,

asking that they recognize the misery they are promoting and profiting from."

Yet prominent white citizens stated the opinion that the city and the bar owners should not be blamed because the decision to drink intoxicating beverages is a personal one. The alcoholic should be held accountable for his own actions, the reasoning goes.

But as the civil rights hearings got underway on August 28, 1974, Mayor Webb expressed grave misgivings and apprehension about the procedures. In his "welcoming remarks" he said "the community has mixed emotions and many doubts concerning the holding of these hearings. The vast majority of the residents of Farmington see them as an intrusion that is uncalled for and a needless spending of our tax dollars. . . The community now looks upon these hearings as another intrusion and erosion of our individual rights and liberties. As citizens and taxpayers, we are tired of bureaucratic control of our lives and are ready to insist upon a return to a representative constitutional government, responsible to and responsive to the needs of the majority, as well as the minorities who have been so favored in recent years."

A Study in Contrasts: Navajo/Anglo

San Juan County contains two very different economies, lifestyles, and cultures. The northeastern part of the county contains the Anglo-dominated communities of Farmington, Aztec and Bloomfield. The western half is occupied largely by the Navajo Reservation, and in small part, the Ute Mountain Indian Reservation. Three-fourths of the land claimed by the county is Indian reservation.

Farmington does not have a defined sense of culture, history, and tradition. It is a new city, and nearly all of its residents have recently relocated there. Many have come from construction and oil-field projects in Texas and Oklahoma. Many are unfamiliar with the new land, especially with their new neighbors, the Navajo People. "Nearly everyone in Farmington is originally from someplace else," Mayor Webb explained.

But the Navajo are no strangers to the area. Indeed, the Navajo considers the land to be sacred. As Navajos told the Committee, "The land is our mother — we are from her, and of her, and as Navajos, we cannot condone destruction by outside forces."

Two cultures — one bonded to the land, the other a stranger. It was perhaps inevitable that someday the presence of conflicting races, cultures, and value systems would lead to violence and confrontation. Possibly the desire of the traditional Navajo to live simply and in harmony with the land had prevented an earlier challenge to the existing inequities between Indians and whites in San Juan County.



35% of the population is Navajo, 13% Spanish, 1% black, and the 51% majority is Anglo. More than half the population is rural. Twenty years ago, it was a different matter, but Farmington expanded in size from a small village of 3,500 in 1950 to 24,000 by 1960.

Further expansion of the Anglo economy depends on the construction of several coal gasification plants and a new power generation plant as well as the continued development of the Navajo Irrigation Project — all these projects are located on lands of the Navajo Nation.

In Farmington, the mean income is \$12,000. For Navajos, the figure is slightly over \$4,000. The per capita income in Farmington is nearly \$3,200, while on the reservation, the figure is less than \$1,000 per year.

Housing conditions for Navajos is deplorable, but in Farmington, things are different. Almost every home is equipped with complete plumbing and kitchen facilities, and most have telephones.

Although the Farmington police department receives federal funding requiring affirmative action employment programs, there are only two Navajo police officers and one Navajo clerk on the force of 74 persons. Police Chief Roy D. Kerr believes the problem lies with the Navajos: "They know where the police department is. If they are interested in police work, that is naturally where they would go."

There is no cultural-awareness program for Anglo officers. Witnesses before the civil rights Advisory Committee spoke about the lack of sensitivity of the Farmington officers. "When I was going to school, I was told by my teacher that a policeman was a friend. They certainly didn't mean Farmington police," one witness said, "There are many policemen [who go up to a drunk and start hitting them or beating them up or using their blackjacks on them.]"

Several witnesses said the police were prejudiced against Navajos. "The [police officers] hate the Navajo more than anything else they hate," another witness said.

"You Indians ain't nothing but red dogs and animals," one Navajo teenager was told by a policeman transporting him to jail for a curfew violation. "Your folks are living off welfare and run behind the bars."

Jeana Rogalska, a reporter on assignment for the *Chicago Times*, recalled that one Farmington police officer had warned her to stay away from areas frequented by Indians. "They don't have any sense of life or death — they would just as soon go ahead and kill you for a bottle of wine or liquor. They have no sense of moral values."

One embittered witness said the problem was not just racial prejudice, but economic class. "In Farmington, there is law only for the wealthy, only for those who can pay for it. . . We have an adversary process in which the lowest, the ignorant, and the inconsequential have at best token representation, while others, the well-to-do, the ones who need the least, receive the most, and they buy it."

The position of the police department is that they are hampered by lack of personnel because of their limited budget. Although there is a Community Relations Unit within the department which is supposed to make sure the police are a part of the community they serve, the police chief refers to the unit's director as "the public relations man."

In San Juan County in 1973, native people comprised 83% of all persons arrested by the police. 85% were for alcohol-related offenses. In addition, in Farmington alone, some 300 persons a month are hauled into "protective custody" for drunkenness, although the police have the option of taking the individual to his home or a health-care facility.

Many witnesses felt there are widespread violations of liquor laws by retailers in Farmington, and that this was a major cause of the present situation. One member of the Coalition for Navajo Liberation testified: "The selling of liquor is rampant and is greatly abused. The selling of liquor to already drunk people, to minors, to our children — there is great bootlegging going on. Because of alcohol, there are many cases of driving-while-intoxicated accidents."

He asserted that perhaps liquor laws are not stringently enforced because "liquor brings a lot of money to San Juan County, both for the county and for the State. Approximately \$7-million comes from liquor alone in San Juan County. We feel that because of this great money flow, the white people in Farmington are hesitant to enforce the laws on the books today."

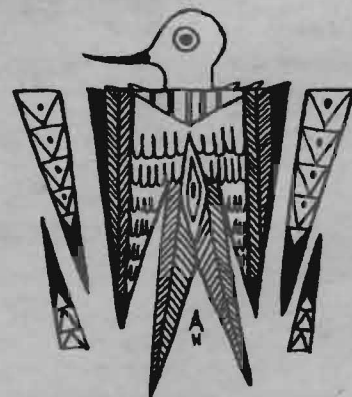
Once arrested, Navajos often plead guilty to crimes they didn't commit. District Court Judge Frank Zinn said, "We have had burglary situations where, from a lack of understanding, Navajo people have pleaded guilty to crimes they haven't committed. You have to dig real deeply to make sure they understand what they are doing."

Health Services: The Unmet Needs

"Because of alcohol, a certain section of highway between the reservation and Farmington has been called by the white people of this county 'Slaughter Alley' because so many Navajo drunks are killed there." That statement made during the civil rights open meeting, is contrasted by the almost complete absence of alcohol rehabilitation programs in the Farmington area.

But that is not the only health problem. "Many doctors are hostile to the idea of taking Navajo patients. In general, private medical care is available to Navajos only on a very limited basis in Farmington," one person said.

On the reservation, according to Wilbert Tsosie, things are worse. "Shiprock PHS Hospital should be forced to close down until decent services and decent facilities are implemented. The PHS unit in Shiprock, as it now stands, is an insult to the Navajo Nation."



The composition of the medical community for San Juan County as of 1973 was 48 physicians, 18 general practitioners, 3 obstetricians and 18 dentists. Most of these are concentrated in Farmington and Shiprock. San Juan Hospital is the only hospital in the county open to the non-Indian population — it is operated by the doctors themselves as a private, profit-seeking venture.

One witness testifying before the Advisory Committee stated, "The local San Juan Hospital has refused, continuously, services to the Navajos in need of medical attention. It is the contention of the San Juan Hospital that Navajos should go to the Public Health Service in Shiprock, no matter how much medical attention is required."

An attorney with the DNA/Navajo Legal Services Program told the Advisory Committee that DNA filed a suit on behalf of two Navajo clients against the hospital. The suit alleges that a Navajo woman taken to the hospital in February, 1974, with multiple stab wounds was rendered some care, but treatment was terminated before her condition stabilized, and she was transferred to the PHS Hospital in Shiprock, 30 miles away. The suit alleges that because of the subsequent delay in providing life-saving services occasioned by the transfer, the patient died after arriving at Shiprock.

A second incident cited involves a Navajo woman injured in an accident. She was taken to the emergency room at San Juan Hospital. Upon entering the emergency room, she was told that because she was Navajo, she would have to go to Shiprock, which was almost twice as far from her home.

However, in November, the suit was dismissed by U.S. District Court Judge Vearle Payne in Albuquerque and a request for an injunction was refused. The hospital states that 10% of its patients are Navajos.

At Shiprock, there is a serious shortage of facilities and staff, according to J. Gerald Conley, chief administrator for the 75-bed hospital. National staffing standards call for 2.9 employees per bed, but at present there are only 1.5 employees, only half the staff needed for effective operation.

The hospital has \$25,000 to contract out medical services. Unless immediate hospitalization is necessary, it usually asks other hospitals to refer patients to Shiprock in order to conserve this meager contract fund.

Given the vast distances, poor transportation facilities, and the limited number of doctors in the region, the absence of any kind of coordinated planning of health services poses a serious problem for Navajo people. Despite the high incidence of alcoholism, the absence of rehabilitation facilities, and the inadequate health care services, there has been little or no public response to dealing with the issues.

"The health care situation is at a crisis stage," the Advisory Committee report states.

Domination Instead of Cooperation

According to Peter MacDonald, Navajo Tribal Chairman, "The Anglos established their relationship with us on an untenable basis instead of mutual exchange in every area of our association. It is one of domination and not cooperation, or very little cooperation."

In 1870, the first white settlers moved into the region and began to develop farms and ranches in the three river valleys around Farmington. In the early 1950s, oil and gas discoveries brought a surge of people and money to the area. By 1956, nearly \$1-billion had been invested in oil, natural gas production, uranium, and other minerals in the county, and a large number of people migrated into the area as employees of the extractive industries and small-business entrepreneurs.

Many of the oil and gas wells were located on Navajo land. Rents and royalties from the wells went directly to the tribal council, rather than to individual Navajos.

In the early 1960s, a giant electrical power plant was built on Navajo land not far from Farmington. During this period, the Navajos also relinquished water rights in exchange for a project to irrigate 110,000 acres of their land across the river from Farmington. Although they lost their water immediately, the irrigation project is not yet even in operation, and it won't be until 1976 that the first block of land will be moistened.

In the early 1970s, another power plant was established on non-Indian land, but requiring Navajo coal and water to generate the power. At present, the general economy of San Juan County is dominated by this exploitation of Navajo resources, as well as income from Navajo shoppers.

The development of the resources — even if some jobs might have been provided — has increasingly met with disapproval from Navajos. John Red House, for example, is blunt in condemning: "I am against the further desecration of our sacred mother earth through criminal strip mining. . . They are only fueling the fires of the fake energy crisis so that the white people in Southern California can have electric toothbrushes; total electric homes. . . Make no mistake about it, the Navajo reservation is rapidly being turned into a resource colony for Southern California, Arizona, Nevada, and New Mexico."

According to economist Phillip Reno, the payments made by the industries under lease agreements are usually small in comparison to the profits to the firms. Royalty arrangements on coal from Utah, for instance, call for only 15 cents per ton. Although contracts call for Indian preference in hiring, the Navajo tribal officials have experienced difficulty in getting companies on the reservation to comply with that agreement. Those persons who are hired generally remain in

blue-collar positions — thus the companies not only get the resources, but they have access to a readily-available labor pool of low-scale workers to exploit the resources for them.

The Coming Impact of Coal Gasification

A key factor in the future economic development of San Juan County is the construction of several coal gasification complexes on the Navajo Reservation. El Paso Natural Gas and the Western Gasification Company (WESCO) have proposed to construct concurrently two coal gasification complexes and attendant coal mines on Navajo land. Each plant will produce about 250-million cubic feet of substitute natural gas per day.

Subsidiary firms will be involved. Mesa Resource Company will mine the coal, and Fuel Conversion Company will produce the gas — both are owned by El Paso. WESCO is a joint venture of Pacific Lighting Corporation and Texas Eastern Transmission Corporation through their subsidiaries, Pacific Coal Gasification Company and Transwestern Coal Gasification Company. Pacific Lighting has another subsidiary, Southern California Gas Company to serve retail customers in California. WESCO coal will be mined by Utah International.

These industrial giants will move in on the reservation in the vicinity of the Burnham, Fruitland, Nenahnezad, Sanostee, and Two Grey Hills Chapters, the home of 7,000 Navajos. They will build the huge plants to add oxygen and steam to coal under conditions of heat and pressure to form a substitute gas, from which sulfur compounds will be removed. A further process, methanation, will increase the heating value of the gas.

Before construction can begin, however, the firms must get a lease from the Navajo Tribal Council, and discussions are now in process. The local chapters who will be displaced and bothered by the gasification fear their objections will be overlooked and they will be sold out. Most of the people of the area make their living herding livestock. Grazing lands will be devastated by the development.

The Burnham Chapter has passed a resolution stating that "any benefits promised to the Navajo Tribe and any monetary compensation to individuals cannot pay for the devastation of the land and the social upheaval that will be the result of seven coal gasification plants being built in the Burnham area."

Whether the thousands of Navajos who have lived on the land for centuries will prevail over the demands for luxuries by Southern Californians remains to be seen. The *Albuquerque Journal* has noted in an article that "the comfort of three million households in Southern California might depend on the coal gasification plants about to be built in the rolling sandhills on the Navajo Reservation."

Construction of the plants alone will cause an influx of four thousand construction workers for about two years — and then they will vanish. What few permanent jobs there will be will — given present patterns — be held by outside persons, excepting for the more menial tasks. The main benefits of the project are intended to accrue to people living hundreds of miles away who will set their thermostats oblivious to the social costs in Navajoland.

It has been estimated that the irrigation project will ultimately provide between 2,000 or 3,000 jobs, rather than helping a thousand or more farm families. Whether the Navajo Tribe will be able to employ solely its own people is another question — there will have to be educational and vocational training programs integrated with comprehensive manpower planning. To date, though, little has been accomplished to fulfill these needs.

All of these developments will bring tremendous change — much of it negative — to the area. As the various enterprises develop, thousands of workers, both Indian and non-Indian, will be brought into the new communities which will arise from the desert. However, the companies, communities, and the Navajo Tribal Council itself have hardly begun to plan for the social problems that the influx will bring, and for its impact on the Navajo society.

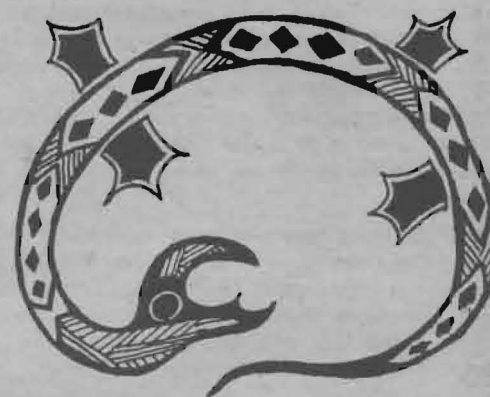
Further Hearings Scheduled in Arizona

The Arizona Advisory Committee to the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights, in conjunction with the Commission's Mountain States Regional Office headed by Dr. Shirley Hill Witt of Akwesasne, is initiating an investigation of problems faced by native people in the criminal justice system in areas bordering reservations. It will seek information on problems involving law enforcement officials, jail conditions, and general treatment throughout the judicial process.

Hearings will be held in late September and early October, and persons wishing to give evidence should contact Maria Pares, a staff member of the Civil Rights Commission, by writing her at 1726 Champa St., Ross Building, Suite 216, Denver, Colorado 80202, or calling (303) 837-2211 collect.

As Harris Arthur of the Navajo Community College explains, "To dump heavy industrialization on a traditional society [will] just wipe them out." He feels that slow evolution of the society, gradually developing capital surplus through the irrigation project, and then having the Navajo Nation itself utilize Navajo resources would be a far better answer.

Under the present style of operation, he fears, "The Navajos would lose total control of their resources. When you lose control of your resources, you create a further dependent state. You will never, never accomplish or reach the goal that we have set which is self-determination and self-sufficiency."



Dr. Charles Hyder, a staff scientist with the Southwest Research and Information Center, disputes company contentions that there will be little pollution. "Based on fundamental chemical considerations, you can anticipate that the emissions like lead, mercury, and arsenic would escape in large quantities from coal-burning plants," Hyder says.

Hyder notes that when scientists warned of pollution at the existing Four Corners Plant would be severe, industry experts denied that. They said only 2% of their emissions would escape. However, a study found that actually, 98% escaped to form a layer of mercury that would be toxic to people living within 40 miles of the plant. But despite the study, Hyder says, "Nothing happened. Nobody did anything. They still haven't done anything."

He says everybody within 13 miles of Burnham would have to be moved out to escape fatal pollution poisoning if the plants are built.

The companies have talked of building company towns on the reservation to handle the expected increase in population. Even if the employees are Navajo, the influx of 500 or more permanent workers will bring massive disruption to the existing social organization, characterized by extended family residence groups following clan loyalties.

Lucy Keeswood, a member of the Coalition for Navajo Liberation, summarizes the concern for the future of the Navajo people: "Where will we all be 20 or 25 years from now when the coal has all been consumed and the companies operating these gasification plants have cleaned up all the resources and moved away. There will be nothing there — they will be working elsewhere, and we will be sitting on top of a bunch of ashes with nothing to live on."

The Navajo Irrigation Project Controversy

The Navajo Irrigation Project is another venture that will bring benefits to the Navajo Tribe itself at the expense of the local Navajo people.

The project consists of 110,630 acres of Navajo Tribal land located south and southwest of Farmington. The water supply will be impounded behind the Navajo Dam, and will be released to a canal conveyance system. The costs of construction are a trade-off for treaty benefits given to the U.S. and an exchange of water rights.

Cultivation of land will commence, hopefully, in 1976, on the first block of 10,000 acres. Additional land will be brought under management year-by-year in a program extending late into the 1980s.

Opposition to the project comes mainly from Navajo families living within the project area. One witness to the civil rights hearing said, "The irrigation project developed millions of dollars to lay down canals and things like that, and yet they are relocating people, changing their lifestyle, practicing social engineering, with no priority of funding or concern over this type of thing."

Serious discussion has arisen over the proposed organization for production emphasizing large tribal enterprises in the style of agri-business rather than the smaller family-size farm. Phillip Reno and Dr. Bahe Billy, the director for the irrigation project, note that experts in developing countries "have found that family-sized farms are generally more efficient than large-scale farms." In fact, studies indicate that "output per unit is inversely related to farm size" — the larger the farm, the lower the efficiency.

The vital requirements for farm productivity, they concluded, are incentive and opportunity. Family farms provide a broadly-based incentive which corporate farms — even tribal ones — do not.

Phoenix, Arizona — A contemporary rip-off of native lands, waters, and rights is well-underway in Arizona under the guise and promise of new prosperity and the best interests of native peoples.

The Central Arizona Project [CAP] is being pushed through by Interior Department's Bureau of Reclamation [BUREC] under the assumption that the development of the Fort McDowell reservation and other lands of the five central Arizona tribes into recreational facilities and industries will really be a good thing. Actually, it spells disaster for native peoples, and benefits for someone else.

The Central Arizona Project is a massive water diversion plan consisting of dams, aqueducts, and pumping plants designed primarily to get water to the Tucson and Phoenix areas. Project costs have already exceeded the \$1-billion mark and could easily exceed \$2.5-billion. Legislation authorizing initial phases of the work was passed in 1956 and 1968, either overlooking, misleading, or compromising native water rights in the process.

But as those cities have prospered, Fort McDowell has languished — poverty, illiteracy, unemployment, sub-standard housing, poor health are commonplace. Promises of more water and economic success are tempting — but U.S. promises have usually been paid off in increased poverty and intense bitterness.

The only serious opposition to CAP has come from a group known as Citizens Concerned about the Project in Phoenix. They say that the cry "Arizona Needs Water" is false, and that what Arizona really needs is to reconsider its water uses and begin recycling and conserving its present water supply. Immediately next to the Fort McDowell reservation, and visible from it, is a luxury development boasting the tallest water fountain in the world.

Actually, CAP has implications far wider than Arizona — CAP will set dangerous precedents in native water rights that will be applied throughout the U.S.

The Friends Committee on National Legislation has urged people to get their Congressmen to cause Congress to declare a moratorium on further appropriations for CAP until alternatives to the Orme Dam at Fort McDowell have been thoroughly investigated and a complete Environmental Impact Statement has been filed. In that added time, courts could adjudicate Indian water rights so just decisions in allocation can be made. FCNL has also urged members of the Appropriations Subcommittee on Public Works and Interior Subcommittees on Water Resources and Indian Affairs to meet with the central Arizona tribes to candidly discuss the issue.

In the end of September or early October, the Senate Interior and Insular Affairs subcommittee on Energy Research and Water Resources will hold hearings in Washington, D.C., on CAP.

One suit has already been filed in U.S. District Court in Phoenix calling for a halt in construction until the Environmental Impact Statement has been completed, and demanding that the U.S. consider alternatives for CAP water storage.

That suit is being defended by the U.S. Attorney, whose office would also be called upon to defend Indian rights. The suit was filed by Citizens Concerned About the Project, the Maricopa Audubon Society, Carolina Butler (an officer of the Committee to save Fort McDowell), John Williams of Fort McDowell, and Charles Rogers, a graduate student.

The U.S. Congress has already appropriated over \$100-million to CAP, a fact which caused the *Arizona Republic* to editorially chastize the suit as the "height of folly," calling it a "nuisance caper", and urging the people of Arizona to unite behind CAP.

If CAP goes through, the native people have little choice — the legislation specifies that if they won't give up their lands of their own accord, it will be taken from them by eminent domain. Even the tribes' own attorneys seem disinterested in fighting for the rights of their clients, having come to the personal conclusion that the native people are getting a "good deal", although in every case, they will end up with less than they have now.

While CAP will bring new waters for agricultural and municipal interests in Arizona, it will bring no new allocations to native farmers. The Papago Reservation is now irrigating only 300 or so acres of their 500,000-acre reservation, because that is all the water they can get. Current planning calls for no increase, however.

In fact, there may be agricultural cutbacks. There is no assurance in the legislation that water delivered to Indian lands will be treated for salinity. Already, water from the Salt River flowing into Mexico has been killing crops because of high salt content, and when this water is mixed with the even-saltier Colorado River and the Verde River, crops on Indian lands will also be killed.

The legislation leaves the determination of Indian water rights solely in the hands of the Secretary of Interior. In fact, there is no guarantee that Indian reservations will have lined canals to deliver water to them even if allocations were increased.



DRY DEATH IN ARIZONA

The design of CAP has caused great conflict among the various native peoples of Arizona. The western peoples of the Colorado River Reservation have strongly opposed the diversion of their water to be taken into central Arizona. They have already lost much land for massive damming, and their natural water supplies have become polluted. On the other hand, the "dry" tribes in Central Arizona, who lost their water rights in the early 1900s, want the CAP, believing that it will deliver what they have been promised, namely water to develop their land and maintain their families. However, they believe these promises only in desperation — nothing in the history of U.S. Government dealings with Indian people assure them that the promises will be kept.

Fort McDowell Reservation to the north of Phoenix has been caught in the middle of the controversy. In order for the "dry" reservations to receive the water they want, there has to be a dam and reservoir for storage of the Colorado River water piped 200 miles across the state. The best site for this dam, according to BUREC, is at the verge of the Verde and Salt Rivers, which will cause the Fort McDowell lands to be flooded. BUREC says this is necessary for flood control, although it has six alternate sites which would provide the same function at only slightly-increased costs.

The backwaters from the dam will flood out 345 residents of the 25,000-acre reservation. Most people at Fort McDowell maintain a subsistence living from small farms and some livestock along the river which flows the length of the reservation the year around. It has never flooded, but proponents of the dam say it is to be installed for "flood control".

Compensation has been offered — but most residents want only their land. "I don't want no money for my land," elder John Williams said in testimony submitted to the House and Senate Appropriations Committee hearings last April. "That's my land, but the white people, if they want to, they can kill me with one bullet — it's all right."

BUREC has admitted the losses will be severe. A BUREC document says "the Fort McDowell tribe will suffer a multi-million-dollar loss over the next 100 years from the destruction of the river should Orme Dam be constructed." BUREC suggests replacing the loss with land along the Verde River to develop land subdivisions, but that land has all been sold and is being developed by non-Indians who anticipated the recreational opportunities of the reservoir.

The dilemma of the Fort McDowell people is whether to go out-and-out to oppose CAP and risk losing their land without any compensation at all, as well as risk causing the other tribes to lose their water as well. On the other hand, even if they sell out and move, they can only hope that BUREC would supply them with water on the 2500 desert acres they would have moved to as their new home — they have not been given any water allocation by the Secretary of the Interior.

Government officials have assumed that Fort McDowell won't even need a water allocation, since they will have 16,000 acres of flooded land, and that the shoreline will develop into profitable recreational facilities. However, for a good part of the year, the "lake" will actually be a mud flats, and the possibilities of a dependable development are questionable. In fact, few people at Fort McDowell have shown any interest in developing such a recreational facility even if they have the chance.

There has been a different tribal chairman each year for the past five years, a fact which does not lend itself to informed continuous stances. Perhaps it wouldn't have made much difference: BUREC people didn't even inform the Fort McDowell people until four years after Congress had approved the legislation that they might be flooded out by Orme Dam.

What information there has been has been contradictory and threatening. People have been told that if they opposed the project, promised compensation would be revoked. They were told the decision was irreversible. Some tribal leaders have been intimidated when they prepared to vocalize opposition.

The current Fort McDowell tribal chairman, Robert Russell, seems resigned to the fact that his people and the Yavapai will have to move. He has been getting strong advice that there is nothing his people can do to assure that they are heard and their rights are recognized.

The Five Central Arizona Tribes — under the advice and counsel of Z. Simpson Cox, an attorney, and William Byler of the Association on American Indian Affairs (which incidentally has a board member who is chairman of the Central Arizona Water Conservation District) — have moved forward to request more allocations from CAP, and Fort McDowell seems to be tagging along, although it is Fort McDowell where the stakes are the highest.

The entire Arizona delegation to Congress seems to have taken a vow to squash and leave helpless all the Arizona tribes with the exception of the politically-powerful Navajo.

At the Quechan Reservation in the southwest corner of the state, for instance, Sam Steiger has introduced a bill prepared for him by BUREC which looks innocent on the surface: it will "authorize the Secretary of the Interior to construct, operate, and maintain facilities to deliver a water supply for the city of Yuma, Arizona, and for other purposes." However, in the fine print are the intentions to gain Congressional approval to use any means necessary to install a pipeline across the Quechan reservation — this was done totally without even consulting the Quechan Tribal Council, let alone obtaining its permission. Questioners calling Steiger's office to protest this abuse of native rights have been told in no uncertain terms that they'll "dig up the whole reservation if they need to." Sam Steiger is a member of the American Indian Policy Review Commission now examining U.S. Indian policies.

Since the Quechan Reservation was established in 1884, it has shrunk bit by bit. The tribe lost 40,000 acres in a fraudulent agreement in 1893, land was taken for the All-American Canal, for the Southern Pacific Railroad, and other rights-of-way — all without tribal consent.

Of course, BUREC isn't limiting its water rip-offs to the southwest. Recent hearings on the use of Upper Missouri River water brought out more disturbing facts. In a "memorandum of understanding" between the Secretary of Interior and the Secretary of the Army, a unilateral sale of water to industry has been made without regard for native water rights.

The position of officialdom seems to be that Indian tribes aren't developing water uses "fast enough" and that they should have no rights for water later which industrial or agricultural interests want now. This sponge-like drive to soak up all native water rights currently unused will keep native peoples at the current state of dependence, and will prevent them from becoming economically and socially self-sufficient. What little land native people have left will become useless without water.

Officialdom regards this as inevitable and, in fact, socially desirable, for native people must become a part of mainstream society anyway, they say.

Another water swindle is the Central Utah Project, which was just accelerated by acting Interior Secretary Kent Frizzell who ordered the granting of a \$26.9-million contract. CUP and the Central Utah Conservancy District have promised to "repay" the Indians for water diverted by the construction of the Strawberry Aqueduct by the year 2005.

But beside the fact that the funds to carry out the promise would have to be authorized and appropriated by Congress, BUREC studies show that *there will be no water left* in the Colorado River by 2005.

Frizzell claims the move was prompted by resolutions from the Ute Indian Tribe. However, the primary beneficiaries are the Salt Lake City area which will get water for domestic and industrial uses, and Utah and Juab Counties which will get supplemental irrigation water. "This could be a major step forward in bringing benefits of the Central Utah Project to the Ute Indian Tribe and for that reason, these studies will be expedited," Frizzell said piously in an Interior Department press release.



In Wyoming, another water war is developing by a BUREC proposal to proceed with industrial contracts for 100,000 acre-feet of water out of Boysen Reservoir along the Big Horn (Wind) River. Boysen Dam is located on the Wind River Reservation. BIA Commissioner Morris Thompson has objected strongly to the proposal, which will be approved by Frizzell. Thompson says that the industrial commitment of the water would leave insufficient water in the river for satisfaction of the Shoshone and Arapahoe water rights. Already, over half the water has been committed to firms like Shell Oil, Exxon, Peabody Coal, Gulf Oil, and Kerr-McGee Corp.

NATIVE AMERICAN WOMEN DENIED VOICE AT INTERNATIONAL WOMEN'S YEAR CONFERENCE



Mexico City, Mexico

Native American women were among some 10,000 persons attending International Women's Year meetings in Mexico City in June.

Officially, there were two United Nations meetings going on in Mexico City at the same time. One, the International Women's Year Conference, was for official delegations from governments only. The other, the International Women's Year Tribune, took place at the opposite end of the city, and was open to anyone.

The Tribune consisted of two seminars held at the same time in the two largest rooms of the Centro Medico convention facilities, one half of each in the morning, and the other half in the afternoon of each meeting day. According to its organizers, this plan would best fulfill the purposes of the Tribune — to let women tell each other about their problems. There were no sessions which all participants could attend at once, no conclusions, no resolutions or recommendations, and no statements could be made in the name of the whole Tribune — and no communication with the national delegations across town was encouraged.

Native American women who attended the Tribune were denied any voice at the official United Nations conference. Unrepresented by the official United States delegation, they could use only the Tribune as a means of informing many women from other parts of the world of the general native American situation.

The International Indian Treaty Council and the American Indian Movement were represented by Madonna Gilbert and Mabel Ann Phillips (Minneconjou Sioux) of Rapid City, Fern Eastman (Sisseton Sioux), and the writer. Dr. Shirley Hill Witt (Akwasasne Mohawk), director of the U.S. Civil Rights Commission Regional Office in Denver, contributed a great deal by her presence, as did Dr. Gwen Cooper (Cherokee) of La Mesa, California.

From the territory of Canada came Mary Two Axe Early and Doris Senger, representing the Indian Rights for Native Women in Canada organization. Several Chicanas who recognize their native American heritage also joined the group from time to time. Native Americans from Central and South America also attended.

But the Tribune was organized so that participation was very limited excepting for those officially on the program. After each of the four seminar sessions every day, anyone could ask questions about the subject, but since listeners were frustrated by the lack of opportunity to make speeches on their own issues, many women took these opportunities to speak out, whether their remarks fitted in very well with the topic or not.

The three major topics of the whole year — Equality, Development, and Peace — were general enough, but the

viewpoint from which they were approached in Mexico City was extremely narrow. No discussion of such important subjects as racism, imperialism, and colonialism were scheduled anywhere.

As an official participant in the Tribune, Madonna Gilbert spoke at a seminar on Agriculture and Rural Development. Her panel included Mr. Justice Seboe of Kenya, Julieta Castel of Honduras, and Margaret Snyder of the Economic Commission for Africa. Following a UN-made film on self-help projects in Kenya, Seboe said his government approved very much of self-help projects. Then, following a UN-made film on self-help in Honduras, Julieta Castel, who works for the UN-connected Community Development Foundation which funded and helped plan the project, said that this sort of activity is a step forward in the history of Honduras.

But for Madonna Gilbert, the last to speak, the only tale to tell was the history of Indian reservations, a story pockmarked by greed and double-dealing by white men (males). She questioned the feasibility of self-help projects among people from whom an adequate land base had been stolen. And on the Sioux reservations, where the land has been divided into districts, she told of how the people organizing cooperatives were stopped when organizations like the John Birch Society alleged they were Communists for even using the word "collective".

She concluded by noting that she wondered why a Bureau of Indian Affairs representative had not been invited to the seminar to tell proudly of its self-help projects, and to show a BIA-made film to go with the others.

During the period following the three presentations, several women, including participants from Cuba and Mexico, made statements of support for the plight of native Americans. A Panamanian woman declared that self-help projects cannot be of any use to her people until Panama regains its sovereignty. A Mexican woman pointed out that, although Mexico is called a poor country, it is really rich in natural resources which are being ripped off by the "powers".

We realized that others beside ourselves wanted to talk about different topics, not to have show-and-tell about their situations. Women wanted to talk about the political facts that make those situations the way they are. But the chairwoman — who like other U.S. experts wanted to keep the topic as narrow and specific as possible — became impatient and soon time ran out.

That short afternoon session concluded the official participation of native Americans in the Tribune, although unofficial participation increased during the entire two weeks, aided by a booklet called *Native American Women* prepared by the Treaty Council office staff with the help of such good friends as Jean Erdoes. It tells much about the situation of native Americans today, and much of it is told by women. It was useful for African and Asian women, who knew very little about native American peoples.

There were unofficial meetings in smaller rooms. One of these which meant a great deal to native Americans was on the topic of racism. Organized by a black woman exiled from her native country which now goes by the name of South Africa in some circles, the meeting brought together women from many of the world's liberation movements. Madonna Gilbert spoke as a representative of AIM, along with representatives of Zimbabwean (Rhodesian), Nambian (Southwest Africa), South African, Chicano, and Australian aboriginal movements. They all identified the main problem of each native group as colonization by one or another European power.

Pat Eatock of Australia outlined a story almost identical with that so familiar to native Americans. She listed "assimilation efforts", relocation, poor education, and the separating of children from their families as some of the major problems of her aboriginal people.

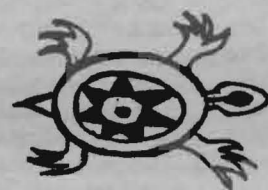
Madonna Gilbert emphasized that as an AIM member, she does not single out women for liberation. "We're fighting as a people for survival," she said.

During the racism meeting, a young American woman stated it was too bad "we women" are letting "men's politics" keep us from talking to each other. Brigiam Bam, organizer of the meeting, spoke simply but directly in reply: "We are faced with certain realities of life — economic systems, political systems, and so on. And we are female on top of it all. We cannot pretend that these realities don't really matter — they control our lives." All the liberation movement women agreed strongly with her.

Another unofficial session dealt with anti-imperialism. A Bolivian woman, who identified herself as an Indian, told us about the horribly repressed Bolivian Mineworkers' Union. Jehan Helou, a member of the Palestinian Liberation Organization, spoke of being dispossessed by the imperialism of Israel. Members of the Palestinian delegation were interested in hearing about the native American situation, but Madonna had to start almost from scratch, as most of the world still thinks all Indians were killed off in the movies.

Each day a delegation from a different nation at the other UN conference gave briefings on that conference's progress. On June 27, the briefing was done by the U.S. delegation. After its presentation, Fern Eastman made a statement on behalf of the American Indian Movement. She spoke of oppression and colonialism, and said that the U.S. delegation did not represent native Americans.

One U.S. delegate responded, "Oh yes, we do represent you. We had a native American woman, Dr. Annie Wauneka, on the U.S. Commission on International Women's Year." The audience expressed its disapproval of such tokenism. At the close of the briefing, another U.S. delegate spoke to Fern Eastman on her way out of the hall, and introduced her to a woman from the U.S. Information Agency (USIA). The USIA rep listened quietly to criticisms from the native American women, although to every one she smiled, squinted, and replied endlessly, "Oh, I am so proud to be an American."



The official policy of the Tribune was to allow anyone to say anything they wanted to say, but in one unpublicized case, the Mexican Government overrode this policy. A woman from the Philippines, Cecilia Guidote, exiled from her land since she criticized the martial-law rule of President Ferdinand Marcos, was forbidden to use any of the rooms or equipment. The order came directly from Mrs. Echeverria, wife of the president of Mexico, who was attending the UN Conference with Mrs. Marcos, wife of the president of the Philippines.

Many of the U.S. women such as the National Organization of Women members were concerned only with so-called "women's problems": abortion, rape, women's right to vote, job equality, and so on. Their position was that talk of politics gets in the way of women's communication. The reply from many

of the Third World women was that they were compelled to talk about the realities of the lives of their people before any discussions of special women's problems could take place.

The delegation of native American women made contacts with people from all over the world which will help in the struggle for self-determination and sovereignty.

During the weekend, there were no meetings, and most participants took trips into the Mexican countryside. Three of us went to Cuernavaca, a beautiful little town in the mountains famous for its many educational centers. We visited with people from Instituto Cemanahuac, a school concerned with many aspects of Mexican native culture. They expressed interest in native people from the U.S. and Canada exchanging ideas and techniques in arts and crafts with native people from Mexico.

Francisco Guerrero, who works as an anthropologist at the institute and is a native person himself, told us of the situation of native people in Mexico. Persons who speak Spanish are generally not classified as "Indian". Because the Spanish colonialists used "Indio" synonymously with "stupid" or "worthless", many native people have been anxious to learn Spanish and escape the label "Indio".

We were able to see the truth of what Guerrero told us while we were on our way to Mexico City's floating gardens. Our guide was asking us about the depression in the United States, and when Madonna said it has not changed anything on Indian reservations much, he was shocked. "You mean you are considered as Indians?" he asked. Madonna said she was very proud to be an Indian, and went on to tell him more about the condition of native people in the U.S. By the time we had reached the gardens, he said in a low voice, "You know, most people in Mexico have Indian blood." A little later he added, "Even I have some."

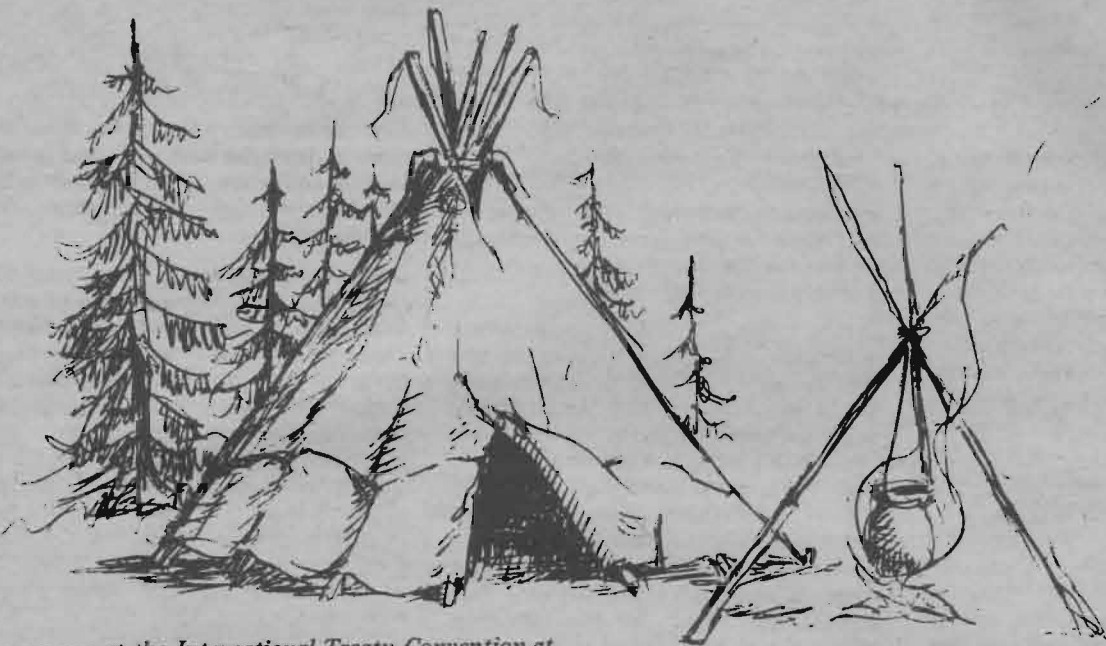
At the agriculture seminar where Madonna Gilbert spoke, a Mexican Indian woman rose to speak during the question period. After a flurry of whispering at the microphone, it was announced that since she could not speak Spanish, a woman would interpret for her. She spoke for a very few minutes, and then the translator interpreted her speech as a "message of sisterhood and solidarity from the most humble women of Mexico, who, although they have many problems of their own, would like the meeting to know that they stand united with all the women of the world." The Indian woman left the room before the interpreter was finished. Later, an American woman who lives in Mexico told us that the government uses Indian men and women like her at all the international meetings held in Mexico to impress the world with its picturesque ethnic groups and its fairminded treatment of them.

From conversations, we learned that European civilization has the same effects there as in the U.S. Whenever and wherever it touches native people, they begin to lose their close balance with the land and all living things. They begin to lose their traditional ways of life, their religion, their languages.

It is difficult to make contact with native peoples in Central and South America, but it must be done, as the White Roots of Peace groups have begun to do, going into even the remotest areas of Central and South America to contact native peoples.

As the Declaration of Continuing Independence of the Treaty Council points out, solidarity among all native peoples in this hemisphere is one of the first steps to recognition by the rest of the world and towards regaining traditional ways and the right to lands on which to live as sovereign peoples.

The Sovereignty Which Is Sought Can Be Real.....



[A year ago at the International Treaty Convention at Standing Rock, a young Seneca, Sotsisowah - also known as John Mohawk - spoke, and his message was printed in AKWESASNE NOTES. Now, a year later, he again takes a look at the native movement, and has these thoughts to share. He, and we, encourage dialogue and response. We are grateful to Sotsisowah for his continuing involvement with NOTES, as his life and ours move in the direction he suggests.]

Jeanette Bissonette, Pedro Bissonette, Frank Clearwater, Buddy Lamont and more than a score others have died in incidents related to the protests of native peoples since the Trail of Broken Treaties in November, 1972.

Dennis Banks, Carter Camp, Stan Holder and others have gone underground to the security of their own people rather than to face sentencing by courts which exhibited blatant racism toward them. John Trudell, Russell Means, Lou Bean and many others are under indictment for alleged "crimes" relative to a number of protest incidents, including the events which led to the occupation of Wounded Knee in 1973.

Now is the time to restate the conditions which led to the recent formation of protest by native peoples, and to discuss strategies which speak to the solutions or at least processes leading toward solutions of the problems which make protest inevitable.

The national organization known as the American Indian Movement was initially founded as a response to tactics of police brutality directed at American Indians in urban centers such as St. Paul and Minneapolis, Minnesota. Injustices to native people ranged in scope from that police brutality to corruption in the Bureau of Indian Affairs and Interior Department, and AIM was shortly involved in protests against a wide variety of problems. One of the most dramatic problems emerging was corruption within federally-controlled "elective systems" of government on Indian reservations, and to the exploitation of Indian lands under policies directed by the U.S. Government.

The occupation of Alcatraz Island spoke indirectly to this, and the Trail of Broken Treaties which converged from all over North America on BIA headquarters in Washington, D.C., was a direct result of these conditions. The setting up of the Independent Oglala Nation at Wounded Knee spoke directly to the issues. Before and since, throughout North America, Indian communities have staged protests against the U.S. and Canadian government policies relating to everything from industrial development to education.

The events of the past three years have taught us all a great deal about the situation which we face. It now becomes clearer what we are up against, what obstacles - internal and external - prevent us from being free people, and what outside support we can or cannot expect in reaching our goals.

The American Indian movement is more than a legal reform or elective system reform movement. We should all remember that it has protested far more than simply the failure of the U.S. to uphold the treaties. In some respects, the native movement has spoken to conditions and problems which other movements in North America have simply failed to address - it has spoken to the real conditions of being human - human beings.

The question of treaties arose because agreements, which had been made to allow human life in North America to continue according to the natural law of the Creation, had been broken. The agreements were broken because of a process, which is still moving along, which injures all human beings, and specifically native peoples. That process is one by which lands are subjected by force and coercion to death and violation to meet the needs of Western peoples. The roots of that process are both visible and deep.

Cities are centers of populations which cannot sustain human life. In order for people to survive there, material goods such as food and fuel and other raw materials, as well as vast amounts of energy, must be delivered to the city. These materials have to come from somewhere - and that somewhere is the natural world.

Natural world peoples, such as the Pequot or the Iroquois or the Lakota (or the Tiv or Vietnamese etc.) depended for their livelihood on direct contact with natural processes - wind, water, buffalo - and were not inclined nor did they necessarily seek the technology - to organize themselves to the production of food or supplying of materials to the city.

However, European peoples organized themselves to exploit the natural world. First, wherever they encountered native peoples, they attempted to promote trade for the purpose of extracting raw materials - furs, elephant teeth, wood - in the early contact stages. As their knowledge of and interest in an area increased, they utilized whatever methods were needed to expand the levels of extraction.

They never actually militarily conquered all the native people of the world. Often they arrived in an area and proceeded to shell villages from gunboats. When the natives sued for peace, peace was obtainable only through submission. The native people were told they must pay a tax of one coin per male inhabitant. Where do we get this coin? The Europeans responded they would pay one coin for one bale of cotton. Soon the native peoples were growing cotton to pay the tax of the invader on lands which they formerly used to raise food for their people.

In North America, this process took an ominous twist. The native people of the forest regions were highly organized into hunting, gathering, and agricultural communities, but they were not great in number - and they did not adapt readily to slavery. They possessed land in abundance, but because of their numbers, they were not the obvious labor source to exploit the land. Europe, on the other hand, possessed huge numbers of people who had already been de-tribalized and made landless, and inculcated with ideals which made them easily trained as laborers. The policy of English-speaking America reflected this reality. The native populations were driven from the land and replaced by European immigrants who would serve as the work force, exchanging their labor for the coin for the king. The process was intended and did serve to provide the materials and the work force needed to obtain and transport these materials first to European centers of populations, and later to the growing cities of North America.

This issue of AKWESASNE NOTES has four important articles which we hope will be read, reread, studied, discussed, expanded, and analysed. This one is by Sotsisowah on the current direction of the movement of native peoples. John Trudell discusses alcohol and how it affects our ability to be "The People". GawWeeTraw, a Six Nations natural-living man, talks about racism within the movement and the false assumptions it creates. Jack Forbes writes of "captive nations" and the need to be sure that we are the people we want to be when we have won our freedom.

We are grateful to these writers for sharing our thoughts with us.

The Indian nations which encountered this process were driven from their lands onto reservations. Even on the reservations, the populations which depended upon subsistence were denied control of their lands, that

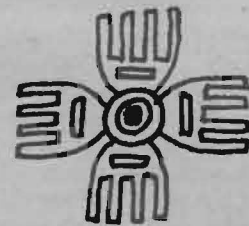
control being vested in the Interior Department or the Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development, aided later by their subsidiary elective councils. Thus do we find Indian reservations flooded by dams to provide water, flood control, and hydro-electricity to the cities. Mines open the earth for coal to provide electricity for the cities. On Indian reservations, white ranchers raise food to be packaged and sent to the cities - while the native people who are entitled to the land go hungry.

This process does more than simply take the land and the use of the land away from the people. The process by which territories are brought under the control of peoples foreign to those territories is called imperialism. An aspect of that process is one called colonization. Colonization is a process of changing the behavior of a people to suit the desires of the colonizer - that is also, at base, the definition of slavery.

Peoples throughout the world have developed localized cultures. Cultures are learned means of survival in an environment and involve such things as language, education, technology, and social organization which transmit those learned means of survival from generation to generation. Colonization interrupts the pattern of learning to survive and substitutes learning to serve. Thus the colonizer has a language, technology, training, etc., which he wishes to impart to a people, but these things are meant to serve his own interests rather than the interests of the people.

Today, the process is similar, but with variations from the gunboat days. Now that the native people have lost their lands, the plants and animals which enabled them to survive, confused their minds with foreign languages and religions, they are faced with a dilemma - how do they survive, i.e., how do they get the land and housing which they need and which they formerly obtained by their own hands and labor? The answer, of course, is with money. And how do they get some of this money? Well, they give you money for some bales of cotton or the lease of your land, or for dancing at the fair, etc., etc., etc. In short, they will "trade" you the means for survival if you will adjust your patterns of behavior to meet their needs. That means, in almost every case, allowing the exploitation of your lands, your self, or assisting in the suppression of other native people.

The culture of native nations was built around the knowledge of how to survive in an environment. To continue that culture meaningfully requires that the people continue to have that environment in which to live and grow. It means being free to live without being constantly threatened by external forces, and having access to the people who have the knowledge of their generation and past generations to pass on. In the absence of these conditions - environment, peace, and elders - survival of a culture, of a people, becomes difficult, if not impossible. From the beginning (1492?) native people have understood this. They have always acted in defense of their lands - meaning in European terms, the defense of their sovereignty. Later, they have learned that they must also defend their cultures if they were to survive as human beings.



The continued attacks on land and culture have taken their toll, especially upon the spirits of The People. People who are in "high spirits" are people who enjoy and want to live life. People who are colonized - slaved in economic servitude - are spiritually depressed. This can be carried to such degrees that in some slave cultures of the Caribbean, the births of babies are greeted with great mourning and the deaths of people greeted with joyous celebration, for the dead have been released from the toil and agony of their lives.

On the Indian reservations of North America, we are able to see the same experience. Native peoples, especially youth, have the highest suicide rate of any people in the world. Babies are born all the time who are unwanted because their parents are unable financially and emotionally to support them. On some reservations, the majority of the adults are obese, dental problems are rampant, and one in four have some stage of diabetes. If you are forty, statistically one-half the people your age have already died, and you yourself live on borrowed time. Alcoholism and degenerative liver disease are so common they are part of everyday life. Young people are being killed at a frightening rate on the highways, and more and more are having their minds confused by drugs.

It is against that bleak background that native people are realizing that we must begin to seek alternatives. The treaties are symbols of despair and death which are

the everyday experience of Indian people, as well as symbols of a time when nations were free. Many of those who have supported and participated in the various activities which have formed the overall Indian movement have looked at the tragic conditions and responded, "I do not wish to live this way! I will not raise my children in these conditions! I will fight for my right to be a human being!"

In this way, the native people are renewing the struggle which they began five centuries ago — the struggle to keep North America the land of the free and the home of the brave. Again today, they lead that struggle which Europeans living in North America characterize as "the Indian struggle," for they are too drawn into the traps of their system to see that the native struggle is the human struggle, and is one in which European peoples should be vigorously engaged on behalf of their own future generations.

Equally as difficult to bring into the European consciousness is the idea that native people of the natural world do not demand jobs or business loans, but they do demand that each family, each person, each nation has a right to their own space, and a means of survival self-sufficient to that space and not determined by the materials or services which can be extracted by force from them.

The extractive processes which are the major cause of problems of native peoples are many and are confusing. These processes are usually associated with the idea that extraction actually benefits The People. Extraction is a very old process, and one which, in the continental U.S., arrived with the Europeans. Four centuries ago, the Europeans approached native peoples with tools (guns, knives, etc.) which allowed the taking of animal pelts at a much faster rate than was possible previously. Truly, the tools made that work easier, but the result was that the forests were stripped of fur-bearing animals, and to a large extent, native peoples were doing the labor of trapping and shipping the furs in order to pay for the tools which they were using to trap and transport! When the forests were empty of furs, what remained was land — available land.

The technology (from the base word for technique) of the European is extractive in nature. This is, of course, oversimplification, but from the natural world perspective it seems that for every Western tool, people must work harder for the European to pay for that tool. What they must work harder at is exploitation of the natural world for material goods to be consumed in "civilized societies".

The "advancements" or "improvements" of Western culture in fact merely increase the ability of people to serve, to implement the extraction of their own resources for the consumption of others. This is what the European calls "progress" and what other people call exploitation.

It is ironic that this process was first practiced by civilized Indo-European cultures upon tribal European peoples who were enslaved to the service of such cities as Rome and who are still known as Slavs, a name and a condition which the latter long ago accepted as their own.

Technology in the West is synonymous with the process of extracting services and goods of the natural world. That means something is removed from the natural world. And one of the Western techniques of removing something from the natural world is called "education".

Where wars failed to utterly destroy and subdue native peoples, education has been very effective. This process has taught native peoples, first, that the extractive process is in their own interest. Having destroyed much of the original natural economy (the forests, the fishes, the buffalo) native youth are now told that all this was for the better, and the proof lies in the life of luxuries and plenty now supposedly available to them. The educational process then proceeds to train people to be a part of that system, to become plumbers and secretaries, electricians, and school teachers — rather than self-sufficient human beings at home in the Creation. In essence, the native peoples are trained to be the technicians of the extractive process.

Thus the behavior of native youth is specialized to the requirements of Western Technology. Even casual outside observers are astonished that the ideology behind the education system continues in force against the realities of native conditions.

First native peoples are not living luxurious lives; those who have successfully entered the work force, even, are a minority. Second, the education process has caused people to leave behind the techniques for survival (self-sufficiency) in favor of techniques of service — labor. This has left them totally dependent for material things upon the Western economy for survival.

In nature, when a member of a species is absolutely dependent upon another member of the species, or another species, that condition of dependency is called "infantilization". The native people, having lost their own economies, are infantilized by the education system both psychologically and economically. It truly has become the Great White Father and his children.

Infants are beings which are totally dependent upon others for their material survival, and for the knowledge of how to survive. The process by which

people are brought to such dependency is an extremely destructive one. It means, essentially, that people are denied an opportunity to reach true adulthood maturity in the eyes of the Creation. Adulthood is both physical maturity and the acquiring of survival skills, but in fact, service skills are not survival skills, and the conditions of native peoples in the Americas are proof of this.

If we are to respond to the social conditions of our peoples — native and non-native — we must begin here. The inability to maintain stable family relationships is often defined as a condition of permanent adolescence, as is all self-destructive and irresponsible behavior. Since much of our behavior is learned, if people cannot maintain their families, if they exhibit self-destructive behavior (from drinking to suicide), then they have probably learned something which has led them to behave in this way. How much money people have does not seem to affect this. Infantilized people become permanent adolescents — physically mature, but psychologically unable to assume real responsibilities and often characterized by self-destructive behavior.

Promotion of Indians to school board positions, or acquiring more "certified" Indian teachers, doesn't speak to that condition at all. Even were it possible to control and change all aspects of an education system (which it is not, at this time), the fact is that most people who send their children to schools expect them to learn a service skill.



Including "Indian Studies Programs" in the school does little to change the situation, since these programs do not teach survival as adults in the Creation, but concentrate on those aspects of native cultures which further — or at least do not interfere with — the process of infantilization. What they are most likely to produce are cab drivers dressed in feathers and beadwork.

There are a great number of strategies which are useless in the struggle for native peoples simply because they in no way speak to the problems and in some ways, they actually serve to intensify these problems. Sending young people to colleges, creating Indian Studies Programs, promoting Indian Day Care Centers, and putting Indian people into elective politics or school committees all channel energies into activities which promote the infantilization (read acculturation) of our people, to become servants in the extractive process, and tending to continue us as powerless individuals acculturated to European ways.

Attacks on "elective councils" installed by European regulations on reservations have been an outlet for much frustration — but that fails to speak to the real problem. The real problem is that people do not have access to the means of survival individually and as a people — they lack the space and knowledge — and because of that, are not surviving very well.

Right now, it is necessary that we take a hard critical view of our Indian nations in this 1975 America. It is true that many of our nations have maintained at least their oral traditions, but few have maintained their material traditions. Even the oral traditions are maintained, in most cases, by the elders exclusively.

What is needed today is for people to understand that they, as individuals, have been denied access to a means of survival other than in service roles and as dominated people. It is not possible, at this moment, generally, to revitalize whole Indian nations in a quick and easy stroke. First, we need to revitalize individuals, to make them strong and self-sufficient, and free adult human beings who act responsibly to the Creation, and the coming generations. (Here, responsibility means one can account for one's actions.)

That means that individuals need to concentrate on acquisition of space and on learning to survive on that space. The elective systems and the school systems do not need to occupy our time *right now*. Had there never been an Indian movement, had no one ever come to understand the relationships between the colonization process and the suicide and degenerative disease rates, those elective systems and education systems would have continued and the people who are their subjects would have become their victims. That the people within the movement were able to understand the connections meant that they would naturally want to do something to stop the process.

But stopping the process is not the need. The need is to replace that process.

The Indian nations which once taught their young to survive in the world have largely abandoned that duty. Abandoned may be the wrong word — for it was compulsory "education" laws, Indian orphanages, and mission schools which forced the children to the white man's ways. Nevertheless, almost everywhere, the Indian nations are not, at this moment, organized to teach the children about survival and to encourage them to walk in the ways of the Creation.

Most of the people who are reading this have probably not been taught those ways — our needs as individuals

are to learn those ways, and to practice them — so we can teach our children, and their children.

It does not appear that there is a great possibility that we can do these things as large groups right now. Were we able to bring together such groups of people who possessed the skills of survival already, traditional communities would be the priority. In fact, traditional communities may be a while in the future, generally speaking. First we will need traditional individuals who will one day, hopefully soon, be able to populate those communities. The process of learning to survive in self-sufficient ways upon the land does not require decades of intensive study, but it does require that people acquire at least the basics of food production, gathering, and preservation. That is what individuals need to be doing right now — only strong individuals can create strong nations.

Through our re-education, we must have this goal before our eyes, and we must remember that it will be necessary for us to survive as a people, not just as individuals. Having been de-tribalized and individualized in the ultimate of divide-and-conquer already, we must leave room in our re-education to once again become a part of a nation.

For those who have the land and the skills already, it is time now to practice these things. Leadership in the natural sense means that there are people who are the first to do things. Examples are important on some level, but equally important, those who are actually practicing the Natural Way can serve as teachers to those who want to learn. Those who would change the conditions under which our Indian people live are forced to realize that they must first change the conditions under which they themselves live. Later, organization and groupings will arise out of the reality of a revitalized native people.

Among the traditional people, there is very clearly a need for change based on the spirit and teachings and on the reality of the conditions today.

Off-reservation Indians need to recognize that despite the marginal living — even occasional prosperity — they have found as workers, their relatives and their own children are not surviving very well in the urban centers. They need to understand that although they may survive as individuals, their nations will die — they will leave no legacy for their grandchildren but the red-white-and-blue.

Those who would follow the European ways should be told of the dangers of those ways. They should be made aware that their health problems are not mere accidents, but very probably are the result of eating processed foods with the chemicals and processed sugar which rots their teeth. They should know that the high incidence of divorce and child abandonment, the rise of violence in the cities, are products of the way of life they have chosen, as are the problems their children are having with drugs and the white man's laws.

If there is to be change, the Indian people must initiate that change, and create the conditions under which it will occur — the colonizers are incapable of making those changes. There is no sense in asking them to do it, although common courtesy requires that they be told through the United Nations and the world media that we will not continue as servants and idle observers to the destruction of our lands and peoples.

Our priorities cannot be attacks on elective systems, for we are possessed at this time of neither the strength (spiritual determination) nor the resources, nor the popular support in most places for such attacks. Our number one priority must be reversal of the processes which are weakening our people as a people and as individuals — those processes are imperialism and colonialism, the taking of our lands and the specialization of our behavior through coercion and force.

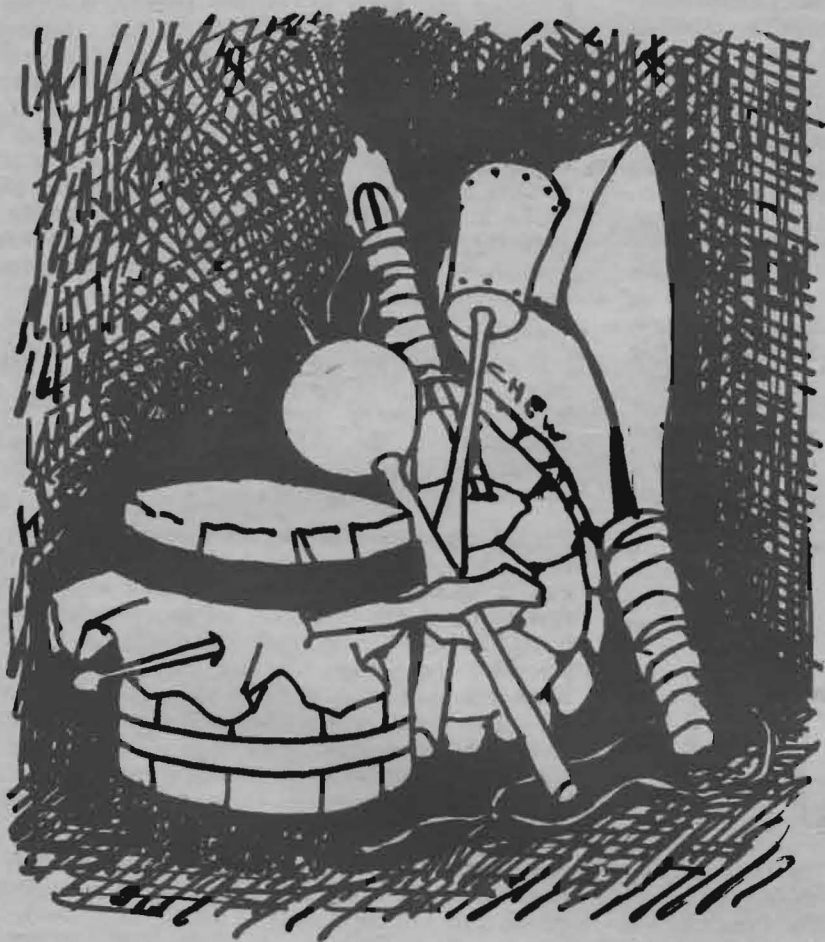
This means, essentially, that as individuals and as groups, we must require our own real actual lands, not in the name of elective councils or legal nations, but to the actual control of decolonized peoples. Decolonized peoples are those who do not participate in the processes of extraction of the labors and products of their own people. That means for us that we must acquire land, and then learn how to survive on that land. We cannot do that while directing what little moneys are available to the movement to supporting issues of abstract sovereignty via legal fees.

In short, our number one priority must be the survival of our people as a people — not merely physical society, but survival as human beings in the Creation. This means that national organizations must begin to direct their resources to specific self-sufficiency projects, not income-producing economic development, and the people participating in those projects must understand what it means to survive and work for their people.

Under these conditions, the sovereignty which is sought can be real, and not determined by the U.S. Government. The desires for revitalizations of the various cultures can be realized and must be realized for that, to us, is what survival is all about.

These are directions native peoples are moving toward. These are directions all peoples who desire to become more human should consider.

"INDIAN": The Color Of Your Psychology



[This opinion was sent to AKWESASNE NOTES by GawWeeTraw, a man of the Six Nations Confederacy, Grand River Country, who has made serious efforts to restore his life to the Old Ways. It is printed with the hope it will encourage dialogue and direction. Other persons are invited to send in their opinions for publication.]

In my early school years in the city, I absorbed my history lessons and came to believe that the white man was the ultimate in human development. Everything he had done was great and good and just. The only worthwhile progress in the world was made by white men.

I came to believe that the red man was missing out on something wonderful by not joining and taking part in the "democratic civilization" that the European was extending to him. Music, medicine, science, technology — you name it, and it had been developed by some smart white man. I proudly served a term in the Canadian Army, and could see nothing wrong with being a part of such a great society. Marriage followed — to a white woman. Everything was together — no loose ends. No questions.

And then, the process of awareness began. Through friends and family relations, I started to get a glimpse of the other side of the story. The unbelievable statistics on the mortality rates and life expectancy of the "average Indian" aroused my interest, and the more I searched, the more I learned, the madder I got, the more I searched, etc. etc.

Slowly I came to the realization that I had been had. Not all of those wonderful things that I had heard in school had been true. Very likely, if I'd been told the truth from the start, I wouldn't have over-reacted.

As it happened, I became a racist. In my mind, the white man became dangerous and untrustworthy. I even began to cast a dubious eye at my white wife of six or seven years. I knew then, and I understand now, what is going on in the head of the "Indian militant", having been in several demonstrations and takeovers myself. I had been on the verge of doing much worse — I began to wonder what I was going to do about my white wife and my three children. Could I go on living with her and hating her people? Shouldn't my concern and my future be with my own people? And the children, what of them? They were in an odd position through no fault of their own, and I did have a responsibility to them. Those were difficult times indeed.

It became fairly easy to trace the problems of the "Indian" as far as the board rooms of many corporations. For example, the Brazilian natives wouldn't be being killed and exploited if it were not for the grasping fingers of the various multi-nationals that are setting up their operations there — U.S. Steel, Texaco, Boat Carriers Corp., Swift's, etc. It's hard to blame the construction engineers and other employees that go in to "develop" the jungle — they believe, just as I was once lead to believe, that they are bringing something great to the red man.

Just about every social upheaval or social injustice can be traced back to some one who has wanted to gain at someone else's expense. In Biafra, it was oil and the Shell Corp. was heavily involved. The Vietnam thing was the result of many years of foreign domination and exploitation — there it was rubber, tin, tungsten. The Opium War was the result of the loss of revenue for some wealthy British merchants who wanted to keep the lucrative narcotics trade with China alive, and China wanted it stopped. The fabulous profits of the fur trade were largely responsible for the early "Indian Wars" in North America.

It became easy to see the function of schools as being large brain-washing facilities which produced unquestioning lovers of the predatory money culture. Churches came to be seen as institutions which advocated the work ethic — no matter who you worked for or what work you did — and the existing form of laws, even though the laws were always stacked in favour of one group, the monied group.

This social characteristic of striving for prestige and power had been part of the European scene ever since the Romans de-tribalized the native people there. Now social differentiation is so deeply rooted in the society, and everyone is so completely overwhelmed by the magical power of money that brainwashing is done more easily with every passing year.

The wonderful thing that I saw when I first looked at the red man's culture in general, and the Iroquois culture in particular, was a potential life-style which would be directly opposite to the money-culture life-style which I had come to detest so deeply. I felt that if a working example of the red-man's culture existed, it might influence the

thinking of others who were also looking for an alternative and eventually would go on to influence world opinion. If I couldn't see anything good in the culture of my own people, I would have no qualms about being part of any foreign culture that was good for the earth and good for people, but the money culture has borne bitter fruit and the earth and her people are crying for relief from an arrogant onslaught.

So, this is how and why I came to revere the red-man's life-style — I saw it held a wonderful promise for the whole world.

I have made my peace with the white man. This happened when I began looking at behaviour instead of colour. Neither goodness nor badness has a colour. I know not all whites are bad, just as I know that not all "Indians" are good. I have never been refused water by any white that I ever asked it of. However, I have been refused water five or six times by "my own people".

It seems that "Indians" no longer bear any behavioral resemblance to their ancestors. They have been thoroughly changed over to the money culture, and according to our last prophet, the people will become lost when they follow the ways of their white brother. Interestingly, this same prophet warned the "Longhouse People" to keep their kids out of schools 125 years ago, but they still send their children off to school. That's fine if you want your child tailored to fit into the foreign money-culture.

However, this is where something strange happens. Allow me to explain how I see it.

Back in the days before Copernicus, the Europeans never got too far with their studies of the stars. The reason was that their basic assumption was incorrect — they erroneously believed that the Earth was the center of the universe. None of their calculations could be really accurate. However, after a few of the more imaginative people of the day dared to part from common thought, there was a real breakthrough. Someone had merely pointed out a basic flaw — after that, their calculations had meaning and accuracy.

Today, the red people are in the same awkward position. They are trying to operate on an incorrect basic assumption. They are wrongly assuming that they are the same people as their ancestors. They believe they are still "Indian" or "The People". There may be a few left who still maintain the life-style of "The People", but very, very few.

The problem is that, like pre-Copernican Europeans, they will not see things as they really are until they are aware of the truth, and damage is being done every day that they go without knowing. Like a person with cancer, one might have a chance if one finds out in time, but usually the truth is not known until it is too late.

The "Indian culture" is almost extinct — every day it gets closer to the end. Present day "Indians" believe that they still exist as a distinct group because of their colour or racial features. Soon, they might wake up to find that they are truly extinct as a people. Their false security will be their undoing. They do not know they are afflicted with a fatal condition.

The word "Indian" — we use it every day without knowing what it means. Ask ten or twenty different "Indians" what an "Indian" is and you'll get ten or twenty different definitions. What we "Indians" really need is a definition of what an "Indian" is. To establish and accept a defining standard of "Indianness" would be just as revolutionary to the "Indian movement" as the Copernican thing was to European astronomy and science.

The idea is not that "Indians" are different just for the sake of being different — we must be different in the right way.

To begin with, there was a great difference between the white man and the red man. Their cultures were almost exactly opposite. Now that we see what the white man's life-style is doing to the earth, the red man's original life-style is seen as being too valuable a thing to lose.

But if we choose to play the money game, then we should not complain about what the white man is doing to us or to the earth, because we are playing the same dirty game. On the other hand, if we go home culturally, if we do strive to live according to the Creator's ways, we will have the right to refer to ourselves by a different name.

Besides racism acting as a false issue which leads us astray from the more crucial issue of life-style, there is another reason why the racist stand is hard to accept. When you glorify your group, you are indirectly glorifying yourself, regardless of whether your group is defined in terms of racial, national, ethnic, political, sport or neighbourhood gang status. Our religion tells us that it is wrong to glorify ourselves and be proud of anything we have, because all this has been a gift to us — our lives, our talents, our strengths, etc., have been freely given to us and we have no right to claim credit for our endowments and be proud of our accomplishments. We should glorify our Creator, not ourselves. We are nothing without the Creation.

It's hard to escape racist thought. Even court battles serve to fan the fires of racial hatred. Land rights are important, and there are other injustices that should be eliminated, but wouldn't you think that the essential part of a people's identity is at least as important? We could spend all our time and energy in the courts and even end up winning, but it will be a hollow victory if, in the meantime, we let our religion, identity, and culture slip away and disappear.



As of right now, I personally don't know of anyone qualified to judge who is "Indian" and who is not. But if and when we begin the process of definition, we should consider a few basic points.

If we are to define "Indianness" by blood alone, then we can start by eliminating all mixed bloods — this will include myself and 99.9% of all the other Six Nations people. There is no possibility that our blood or our children's blood will ever be "pure" again.

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Secondly, there are many pure-bloods from different parts of this land who want nothing to do with the ways of their ancestors. Will they be within our definitions?

Thirdly, there are many descendants of the original people who are quite satisfied to accept the legal definition of "Indian" which the foreign governments of Canada, U.S. and Mexico hang around their necks. As long as they are "on the list", they feel quite secure that they are truly part of "The People"

Fourth, consider that if we get the notion that we can set up a definition on the basis of blood percentage, we will be asking for trouble. If we accept "Indian" blood down to 50% we will be alienating a great many people. We have enough enemies as it is without creating more.

Fifth, consider that if blood is the all important thing, then it shouldn't matter whether the red blood is mixed with yellow, black, or white blood.

Sixth, if we're to use blood as the criteria and disregard behaviour, how will we be different than any other group of people who are also struggling for recognition or concessions or security? How could we be seen as being any different from the NAACP, for example? Surely the earth would not see us as any different from other mindless polluters, yet the difference matters. The awareness must come before the striving. We must know that we are not what we think we are before we can take steps to become what we should be.

The function of our native religion is to influence us to behave in a certain way toward our Creator, toward the earth, toward each other, etc. Our religion produced a different kind of people before — why not now? The religion hasn't changed — the good words that come to our ears are the same.

We are the ones who have changed. Our ancestors would not recognize us now.

There is no difference between us and our white brother, the ones we have complained of so long.

As long as the emphasis is put on race instead of behaviour, the real meat of the problem will be missed, clouded over, and we will never see the need to change.

This is the failing of all the "Indian movements" to date. They base their activities on racial premises.

Perhaps this view of the "Indian problems" is *emphasized purposefully* by people who make a sweet dollar out of discords and controversy. Or to create a diversion so our people will never think to judge themselves by their behaviour and find that they really need to go back to their religions where they will be strong again, truly different, truly the Creator's People.

It's easy to say you are traditional. It's even easy to go on demonstrations for traditional people — they only last a few hours, a few days, a few weeks. But following the Creator's ways all the time everyday in every way is needed to reproduce "The People."

At Onondaga in 1969, there was a Unity Convention which we attended with friends. There were perhaps 200 people there, 20 or 30 of whom were part-blacks from Lumbee territory. They were seeking an identity within the "Indian" populace. Each day, there was a general council for all to attend — all, that is, except the part-blacks. If you were part-white, you were all right. If you were part-black — stand back. The part-whites, Six Nations people in particular, would make jokes about their part-black brothers — they would snicker if one walked by. Finally, the part-blacks got the message and went home — I can't even imagine how they must have felt.

This was a very ugly experience that leaves a bitter taste in my mouth to this day.

The irony of the situation is that it wasn't the blacks that hurt the "Indians" in the first place — but black blood was rejected in favour of the historically-distrusted white blood. This is one of the more obvious examples of how illogical racist thinking can be. Racism is alive and well on all Six Nations lands.

And how will we appear to the Creator?

Lastly, native blood and features is not an automatic passport back to our Creator. If they were, there would be no need for the red man to have any religious rules to follow. The fact is that "The People" were given religious rules to follow just as all other peoples. We must see that we are only human. Wouldn't you suppose that the earth would rather be populated with blacks or whites who lived for their children, were good to each other and cared for the land, rather than be populated with any number of "Indians" who chose to live according to an exploiting, careless life-style?

I wish that everyone could become "Indian" in heart and mind. Then all people would be my people.

This might never be. However, I still have hope for "The People." I hope they will awake before they are extinct. They have the potential to offer a beautiful thing to the world.

In conclusion, then, I submit for your consideration that:

1. It is time for some revolutionary thinking among the present-day "Indians" as to where they are culturally.
2. A definition of "Indian-ness" be given top priority-rating in the "Indian movement".

3. We must use this definition against which to measure ourselves and adjust our life-styles accordingly — if we wish to be truly "Indian".

4. We must beware of any person, process or publication which preaches racist policy, or even tends to cultivate racist resentment in us. AKWESASNE NOTES has done, and continues to do, much in the area of initial awareness, but a continual stream of reports of injustices can be damaging in that it can create a "good guys/bad guys" mentality which can blind us from seeing where we are culturally. Many times when we point at "the white man" we are pointing at ourselves.

5. We should get to understand the basic premises of our cultures as well as those of the money culture so that we'll know what we're talking about when we sit down to define where we should be in relation to our original culture and the white man's culture. This will also give us some idea of how much of the white man's technology we can use without destroying our self-determination and the essence of our own culture.

6. The criteria we should use when we sit down to define "Indianness" should be the welfare of the children, the earth, and all life.

7. The survival of the natural and spiritually-oriented culture of the red man could be a step toward the survival of our earth and the beginning of a real civilization.



Working Toward A Higher Quality Of Life.

I am not going to look for a paid job because I plan to spend my time doing some inquiring, some thinking and some writing about possibilities for putting an end to genocide and terricide in the next few years. Maybe someday people will get paid for working toward a higher quality of life, but right now the highest salaries go to participants in continuing destruction of peoples and the killing of the earth.

If it goes on much longer — maybe five or ten years — many thousands of environmental scientists fear that we may find it too late to change. We are already on a one-way no-return expressway to unprecedented human disaster. Two-thirds of the people on earth are malnourished and millions are dying of starvation. We could be on the way to extinction unless we change rapidly and radically.

The changes we desperately need all lean toward the Indian Way — the wit, the wisdom, and the spirit of living in harmony with the rest of nature. Sharing. Taking only what you need and using all of it. Wasting little and returning that waste to our mother, the earth. Full and meaningful employment for everyone no matter how old or how young or which sex. Working to help each other and not to get ahead of the rest or to accumulate wealth. "A place in the sun for all living things." Satisfying the human need to be needed without so many lost spirits requiring jails, wars,

mental hospitals, welfare hand-outs, ripping off the land, exploiting the people, struggling to possess more wealth than the earth can stand or to conquer nature instead of understanding her limits and appreciating her gifts.



Personally, I believe that the British Columbia Indian movement which really gained momentum in April is the most encouraging action I have felt in my entire life. It may be part of a natural healing process for a wounded earth.

It is a difficult problem for an enthusiastic non-Indian to know where he or she belongs in such a movement. I think the best thing I can do just now is to look for some way I can help more non-Indian people get involved in a cooperative people's movement to understand, ap-

preciate, and catch up with the enduring qualities of the ancient Indian heritage. In North America, it is part of everyone's heritage, but most of us grew up culturally deprived — perhaps especially if we were materially privileged.

A second very promising miracle in which I had a chance to participate was the people's movement in Northwestern British Columbia toward high-quality low-impact development. The people who generally have less power than mayors, council members, chambers of commerce and multinational corporations have been getting more and more concerned about the danger to their lives and their environment from rapid, massive profit-oriented development. They are seeking alternatives which could fit the people and better respect the unique qualities of the environment in the north.

Indians, labor union members, and environmentalists as well as other people who feel they have been divided and overwhelmed by a powerful combination of big industry and government — these concerned people are getting together and refusing to be controlled and exploited any more for the material enrichment of outsiders who do not even care about the future of the north. They are working together on new ways to increase the quality of life in the north and to give the people of the 21st Century a chance to live and to enjoy the north.

I think we are in an emergency. That may be a good thing. People often perform better and cooperate in unbelievable ways when faced with a genuine emergency. We have a tough struggle ahead. The penalty for failure will be certain disaster and possible extinction. The reward for success could be a quality of life beyond that any men and women have ever yet dreamed. If Indian people have been damaged by white brainwash, imagine how disrupted white people must be who have little else in their experience but white brainwash. The ecological facts of life which we have been hearing for the past six years may have opened more eyes and ears and hearts to the relevance of the ancient Indian heritage for the future of all people.

I hope to look for ways to apply what I have been learning from native people for the past seventeen years to the whiteman problem. I am grateful for what I have learned. I know how much more there is for me to learn yet.



[Walter Taylor, a Friend who has been active in many native causes such as Kinzua Dam, and James Bay, retired recently as a land claims worker for the Caribou Tribal Council in British Columbia, in order to devote time to writing and thinking. These were some of the thoughts he communicated to his colleagues as he announced that decision.]

Before We Were "Indians"



ALCOHOL AND THE NATIVE PEOPLES

[This statement is by John Trudell, national chairman of the American Indian Movement, issued in September, 1975. We are grateful to Runa Simi for sending it to us.]

We are human beings.

Alcohol makes us drunks.

Pride and history make us "The People."

I wish everyone would think about this: before we were "Indians", we were "The People."

For the Europeans to justify with their humanitarian beliefs the oppression that they have put on our people, they had to create a false label for us. They had to call us something that was not human, something other than what we actually were. When Columbus came here and thought he was in India, he called us "Indians" — and so we have been "Indians" for only a brief period of time in the history of our people.

Our people have been on this land for thousands, and thousands, and thousands of years.

Our people are the product of this land.

We can refer to ourselves as the indigenous, the sovereign people, the native people, or native Americans, but we are "The People" as we relate to being "The People", as long as we act accordingly.

In the life and society of "The People," our function was to look out for the people.

It was to serve the people.

It was so that our people may live, so that "The People" may survive.

It was to look out for the unborn.

It was to respect the ways of the ancients and our ancestors.

Our total purpose in life was to serve "The People."

This was our religion.

This was our politics.

This was our social system — "The People."

But the Europeans came and we changed from being "The People" to being the "Indians."

The Europeans said the Indians were lazy.

The Europeans said the Indians had no religious spiritual beliefs.

The Europeans said the Indians were savages.

The Europeans said the Indians had no soul, no inner life.

The Europeans said the Indians were not human.

The Europeans never called us "The People", and through this European process, it was made easier for them to justify the murder, the rape, and the stealing of our culture.

As this process went on, we started believing them. They caused us to believe them in many ways.

They have done it through the Christian church.

They have done it with their history books.

They have done it with the Sharps rifle, the Winchester rifle, the M-16, and the grenade launchers.

They have done it with the tactical squads.

They have done it by destroying our belief in ourselves.

But most importantly, they have done it with the use of alcohol.

They took our spiritualism and they took our children and they cut our hair. They talk to us about their Christian ways and Christian values. And they pushed the number one drug in the world — alcohol.

We can look back 200 years to the 1700s, where they used alcohol as a form of barter with our people. The French were selling \$250,000 a year in alcohol to our people in the form of trade for furs and pelts, and for the things that we had — and our land. When they could not make deals with the people, they gave us their alcohol, and then when we became drunk, they took what they wanted, because while we were drunk, we could not oppose them. Because when we were drunk, we were not in our right minds — we had no spiritualism left.

We look at the acculturation process of the American state. Some 200 years ago, the people that were directly responsible for the moral and spiritual leadership of our people — the holy men, the war chiefs, the peace chiefs — they told the people: "Don't use the alcohol."

They said that the alcohol is no good. They said that if we stayed with the white man's ways of using the alcohol, we would only defeat ourselves. Then we look at 200 years of acculturation and now there are very few of the people in our leadership that find alcohol unacceptable.

We can take it for granted that everyone condemns it. Everyone pays lip service to recognizing how damaging it has been to our community.

But now our tribal leadership — they get drunk.

Now our youth — they get drunk.

Now the people that form the productive segment of our society, and the people that should be working and helping to fulfill the needs and obligations of the people — they get drunk.

The BIA comes into our communities and we get drunk together. We go into the little red-neck bars and we get drunk. We fraternize and socialize with the enemy, but only when we are drunk, and the acculturation process has been really slipped upon us. It has been done in a way that was both flagrant and subtle.

We talk about programs, programs that say alcohol rehabilitation, about how we are going to stop the problem. The government will fund the alcohol rehabilitation program and say that they want to help us. But how can you rehabilitate? Rehabilitate means to make you better than you were. So, in theory, what they are saying is, "While you are a drunk now, I will take you and dry you out and make you a better drunk than you were before."

They talk about being concerned about the drinking in the Indian communities, yet the same governmental system that expresses this false concern licenses the liquor dealers.

The same governmental system that is so outraged and shocked by the drinking in the Indian communities are the ones that let the bootleggers into the reservations along with the missionaries, the teachers, and the treaty commissions.

They have always very quietly pushed the alcohol into our communities. We talk about drugs — we must recognize the number one drug is alcohol.

The man who sells heroin in the streets is a pusher and is labeled and identified as such. We must open our eyes and look around us and recognize that the pushers in our communities are the BIA.

It's the BIA who has its functions, its social gatherings for the people, and makes alcohol so easily available.

It's the BIA that holds tribal representative meetings such as National Tribal Chairmen's Association meetings, and the National Congress of American Indian meetings, and they bring our tribal representatives into the cities like Phoenix, Los Angeles, and Albuquerque and they supply them with all the booze they can drink.

So when we talk about pushers, we must recognize what a pusher is.

We must recognize the purpose that a pusher exists for.

We must recognize that exploitation at all levels.

We do not get much money to live on, but the bulk of what little money we do get goes right back into the bar room, whether that bar room is in the ghetto, a slum bar, or the Blue Room at the Hilton Hotel. The bar room is everywhere — it passes all class systems, so no matter if an Indian makes it in America, this is the final reward.

As long as this is our new belief, then we are going to stay oppressed. When we willingly let ourselves into these places, then we must really sit down and evaluate how we ourselves contribute to the oppression of our people.

We must think about how we hurt our people.

We must think once again about the unborn.

We must think once again about the respect that our elders should have.

We must think once again about the love that our people have always felt for our Mother Earth.

We must start recognizing that rhetoric and action are two different things, and if our rhetoric is separate and false from our actions, then we must recognize that we are destroying ourselves.

It is not enough to stand up and say we are against alcohol and then go down to the bars and sit and drink because we want to be Indians.

We must start thinking about what is good for "The People."

We must start thinking about how our actions are picked up by our young, how our deeds and our words are interpreted by our young people. Our young people follow in our steps. In the days of our grandfathers, when our men were the warriors who looked out for the people, then our children grew up to be warriors to look out for the people. Now in today's times, when our warriors are in the bars, our children grow up and they go to the bars and as long as this cycle of life or death is perpetuated, "The People" will not survive.

We must start considering the respect for life. You take a drink of alcohol, and it kills the brain cells. But if we go to the sweat lodge, it reinforces the beauty of life. We must always remember the humility of our people because we are human beings, and we have the power of reason. We are the weakest of all of the Creation's life because we must be held responsible for our acts. We must understand humility. We must understand that the respect for life is based on humbleness, and we must know — we must learn to know — that alcohol is based on arrogance. When we are drunk, we have no respect.

We must lead our children by the hands.

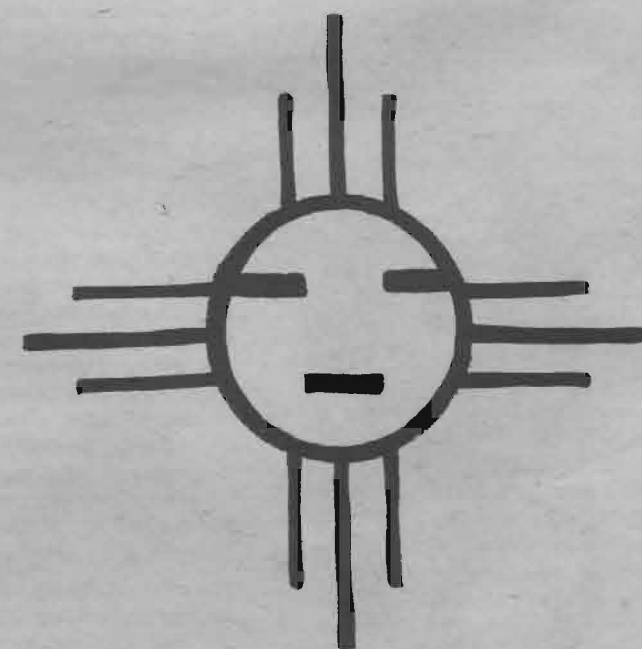
We must educate them, and we must say to them, "Everything is in their hands."

We must teach them the things that are good.

We must help them to understand about the right to life and we must understand about death, because when people no longer believe in the right to life — when people believe in the alcohol bottle — they will become emotionally and eventually physically dead because alcohol kills.

It kills the bits of humanity that exist within our spirits.

It kills our bodies in knife fights, automobile accidents, and in suicides.



The whole American state is built upon the unreal things of life — the false things, the plastics, the chemically-altered foods, the big shiny automobiles that have been altered and changed from the natural resources as they were taken out of the ground and made into things of steel and metal.

We must understand that we cannot be "The People" while we are drunk.

We can be "Indians" and be drunk, but we cannot be "The People."

We must put our feelings into our actions.

We must be wary of becoming what it is that we dislike. In the ways of "The People," we do not know racism, but in the ways of the Indians, we do not like blacks because of their skin, we do not like whites because of their skin, and we do not like each other. We spend so much time disliking, we reach the point where we dislike each other.

These are not respectful ways. Everything that the Europeans have done to us leads us to disrespectful ways. We will not have survived if we have full-blooded Indians walking around who have the same value system as the white man.



It is our ways that they want to destroy, and if the only way to destroy our ways is to destroy our bodies, then that is the way the system will do it. But it is foolish of us to help them.

We must understand that we are all born to serve a purpose, and that purpose is to appreciate the right to life.

That purpose is not to be disrespectful.

That purpose is not to be a drunk.

That purpose is not to be a sellout.

That purpose is not to walk around and hold the white man and his governmental system in awe.

Our purpose for life is to work and serve "The People" individually and collectively. But as long as we rationalize and accept the unlimited use of alcohol by our people, we only defeat ourselves. Everyone of "The People" in America has been affected by alcohol.

This is how our brothers and sisters get locked up in prisons.

This is why our old people don't eat good, or keep warm in the winter.

This is how our young children get brainwashed and destroyed in their schools.

This is how our land has been taken from us — because every time an inhuman act has been committed against our people, we have been disoriented with the madness of alcohol.

We will get drunk and we will fight each other over what we believe in, but we will not stay sober and stand up to a governmental system that is built on the value system of greed and corruption.

These are the things that we must talk about with each other. These are the things that we must start beginning to understand, because alcohol is like the church, like the classroom, like the treaties, like the courtroom, and like the police departments and the liars. It is a tool to oppress — but it is the most significant tool that they have because through alcohol we escape.

Through the alcohol, we get the false courage. And while we are drunk, we talk about the great things that we will do.

We talk about how respectful we are when we are drunk.

We talk about love when we are drunk.

We talk about things when we are drunk that we do not have the courage to say or believe while we are sober, when our minds are in the right place, when our minds are linked with our hearts, because we cannot respect any form of life if we do not respect ourselves. And when we consume alcohol at the rate we have been, we do not respect ourselves.

So we must get together with our children, with our elders.

We must get together with our mothers and fathers, our aunts and uncles.

We must get together with all our relations and we must start talking about these things.

We must not fool ourselves. We must understand that when we talk about serving "The People" that it is hard sometimes.

It is hard to serve "The People" when the Government is trying to make trouble.

It is hard to practice what we believe when we are met with lies and deceit from the outside agitators that come into our communities and make trouble.

It is hard, but that is the way of life.

Our ancestors had to learn how to exist with nature, to be a part of nature, and to survive as "The People." It is time that we started relearning this. We can survive, in spite of the fact that we are totally surrounded by people that have a different value system.

But we can only survive as long as we have the will, as long as we will take the time to do what is necessary to survive.

We can survive if we will take the time to educate ourselves, and to understand — not to name-call, nor to talk about each other behind each other's back, nor to get mad because we can be the only ones who are right and everyone else is wrong.

We can survive if we go and talk and visit with the ones who have the wisdom — our elders.

We must not look upon our elders as the white man looks upon his elders.

We must protect our elders.

We must take their advice.

We must listen respectfully and make our own decisions — but we must ask them to share their knowledge with us.



We can talk about alcohol until the last Indian is phased out of existence. Or we can stand up for what we know to be right and we can mend the circle of life that our people have always known to exist. But only we can do it.

The government can't do it for us.

The churches can't do it for us.

The liberals or the conservatives can't do it for us.

Only we — only we can make things right within our own communities. We have nothing to be afraid of if we have belief in ourselves, if we have belief in our people, if we have belief in all the things that are sacred to us.

Then we don't need the alcohol to get by.

That is all.

On Women's Rights For Native Peoples

[Another perspective on "women's rights" for native peoples is offered by Laura Waterman Wittstock, a Seneca woman who is acting director of the American Indian Press Association. The paper was written for presentation by the Seminar on Women in Development of the American Association for the Advancement of Science held in Mexico City June 15-19, 1975, as a part of the United Nations meeting there. It is presented here in slightly different form and is abridged.]

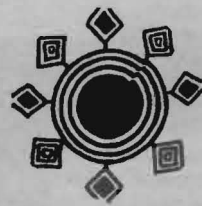
Although American Indian Nations are mingled in the minds of citizens of other countries as being no different from Americans of any race, and although the 1832 opinion by United States Supreme Court Chief Justice Marshall placed American Indian Nations in the category of "domestic dependent nations", Indians have always viewed themselves as distinct and separate (although surrounded) sovereign nations.

The fact that the nations are not free in reality does not impede a continuing belief that the future of each nation is married to the active, conscious preservation of those desirable aspects of the cultures which contribute to a continued identity as a nation. In this respect, the role of women in development is not separated from that of any other national goal, and there is no group of Indian women who will interfere with any other nation's law or custom which involves role-playing by sex.

In direct interruption of this ability of Indian nations to recognize the autonomy of other nations, the United States Congress in 1868 passed into law what is called the "Indian Civil Rights Act", guaranteeing to Indian individuals the ability to seek redress and the right to due process of law according to non-tribal standards, thus effectively disrupting the autonomy of a nation to decide cases concerning these legal processes according to their own tribal law, code, or custom.

The Indian Civil Rights Act encouraged Indian individuals to bring suits in tribal courts and elsewhere for "violations" against their individual rights as Indian citizens. Among these suits have been those dealing with sex discrimination against female tribal members in employment and housing.

These suits do not have the effect of imparting greater freedoms for individuals by sex, but instead have the effect of eroding the sovereignty of the entire nation. Acculturation becomes accelerated, and nations are becoming fearful of losing all identity.



Thus the situation is presented here that nations are struggling to remain sovereign — a cooperative effort of men and women.

Any discussion of American Indian women in development, however descriptive and true or not true, must be in juxtaposition (if not in harmony) with the tribal view. It is not only useless but destructive to separate women from their nations in the case of American Indians. Changes benefitting women must come from within the nations, not from another government or any other outside group.

Unfortunately, this view of a cohesive society cannot be applied to the majority of American Indians who do not live on tribal land, or within the purview of tribal law, or strictly according to tribal customs. This fact not only makes the job of maintaining tribal sovereignty more difficult, but it compounds the difficulties of daily living for those individuals and families living away from constant contact with their tribal people.

It is in this situation of separated-from-tribe-yet-unintegrated-with-America that the opportunity for reform of the woman's role in development has found acceptability. Because of the artificiality of this life condition, and the frequent absence of culture contact, adopted reforms embraced by these groups of individuals and families cannot be seen as cultural nor can they be expected to be later adopted as tribal.

What can occur — in fact what has occurred — is an increase in the alienation process between the non-tribal individual and the nation as a community.

My view is that no group can impart power on another group. Setting women aside as a group of underprivileged human beings and then trying to figure out ways to impart power to them ignores custom, culture, and in the instance of American Indians, national sovereignty.

The women who will benefit most from such power-letting are those who already have power — the white women of the dominant societies.

Any who believe that giving up cultural and racial customs in exchange for enhanced individual rights and privileges play into the end-game — the dominant societies will increase in strength, the non-white communities will lose power increasingly.

The result — should this happen — could very well be pleasing to nations and individuals who believe a multi-racial world village is the answer to the thorn-in-the-paw of contemporary problems. But it must be stated that American Indians by and large do not subscribe to this view.

Understanding this, it can now be stated that American Indian women are holding more positions of responsibility and authority, are more mobile, have a greater part in the policy-making processes than at any other time since they were forced to live with and under an alien government.



There are Indian women in every level of professional work, and within every office of power relating to American Indian affairs. There are women tribal chairmen, tribal judges, tribal attorneys, and greater numbers in the more sexually-defined jobs: nurses, health care workers, teachers, social workers.

Comparatively, in relation to the total population of American Indians, there are more women in professional work than there are whites in relation to their population. The greater proportions are due in large part to the rate of development, rather than their motivations to the dominant class.

Particularly in the areas of education, health care delivery, and the economic development of tribal lands, the need for trained American Indian workers continues to outstrip the available work force. In such an atmosphere, it can be expected that the rapid rate of development will enhance the opportunities of Indian women for filling positions traditionally held by white men — practically no native nation would prefer a white male to an Indian woman.

The great numbers of American Indian women filling positions of professional standing and authority have much to do with the rate of development among nations. Participation in my own tribal affairs assures me an active voice in any changes — lack of participation assures me no voice at all.

"Machiavellianism" The Most Contagious Disease Known To Man

This essay is by Dr. Jack Forbes, a founder of D-Q University at Box 409, Davis, California. It is also available from AKWESASNE NOTES as a tape or cassette recording entitled, "Captive Nations". We are grateful for the continuing support of Jack Forbes.]

All around the world today there are people who are unable to control their own destiny — people who belong to "captive nations."

But before we talk about them, let's define terms.

A "nation" has the same root as "to be born", "nativity," "nacimiento nación," and so on. It has to do with that which you're born into or that to which you belong. It has come to refer to what we also call a "people". A precise definition is difficult — it is a subjective thing, determined in great part by the way an individual feels about himself, as well as how other people feel about him, and about how people feel about each other.

We also use the term "ethnic", or "ethnic group". "Ethnic" really means the same thing as "nation" — but the term is used a little differently especially in the United States because the people who write books about non-European groups in the United States don't want to call them "nationalities", i.e., they don't want to talk about native "nations" so they speak of native peoples as an "ethnic group."

Now of course, the basis for a "nation" or a "people" is "kinship" — a "nation" consists basically of people whom you consider to be your relatives. They may not be close relatives, but you consider them to be your brothers and sisters, cousins and uncles, and so on — you have the feeling they are your kin, and that's the basis for what constitutes a "people" or "nation".

Then there are other areas spinning out from there. Among many Indian groups, for example, there are relationships that are harder to pin down. If we say that a person belongs to the Penobscot tribe or the Passamaquoddy tribe, that would be their *people*. But in addition, the Penobscot and Passamaquoddy speak the same language, basically — they belong to a group known as the Wabanaki (Eastern Land People), together with people called Abnaki and Malassit and others. They all speak the same language and formerly were confederated together. So undoubtedly most people who would call themselves Penobscot also feel that the Wabanaki as a whole are also their people.

In addition to that, however, they realize that there are many other Indian people who speak *almost* the same languages they do. All the people who belong to the Algonkian Language Family, or "Manitou-weniniwok", whether they are Chippewa or Cree or Delaware, are coming to see that they are closely related. And they are coming to see that they have close relations with a number of other people who are called by this word "Indian".

While the concept of "Indianness" is growing, it has not yet reached the point where one can talk about an Indian "nation". Instead, we recognize there are Indian "nations".

But this example gives a bit of the feel for the difficulty in saying exactly where a "nation" or a "people" stops and begins — there are no clear and absolute boundaries, and concepts change as time goes by.

The U.S.A. Is A State

Now we come to the term "state", which is a governmental or political unit. The United States of America is a "state". The Union of Soviet Socialist Republics is a "state". The People's Republic of China is a "state".

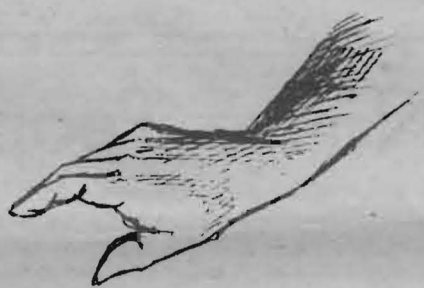
A "state" is not the same thing as a "nation". Sometimes, though, you'll see

the term "nation-state", and that means a "state" which belongs to a "nation". But there are a lot of states that don't belong to any nation.

Originally, the United States of America did consist of 13 republics along the Atlantic seaboard, 13 independent republics who belonged to a league, like the League of Nations, under the Articles of Confederation. From the 1770s through the late 1780s, the 13 republics were independent sovereign states but then they changed in about 1789, and became more like provinces, but they still kept the word *states*.

True, the USA is a *state* that wants to create a *nation*. It's a *state* that wants to come out with one *people*, to assimilate all of the different nationalities through the "melting pot". So the use of the term "nation" in the United States is partly a propaganda device to convince people their "nationality" is that of "United Statesians" or "Yankees" or whatever.

We come now to the term "self-determination," which most of us take to mean as a group of people being able to have control over their own fate, being able to travel down a road of their own choosing. But people who are in control of others often define "self-determination" in degrees — when the Bureau of Indian Affairs picked up on President Richard Nixon's talking about "self-determination" for the Indian people, it did not talk about "independence".



We recognize that interrelationships place limits on the ability of any people to determine in isolation what they want to do, and so "self-determination" means the highest stages of *complete* determination of a group's own destiny except insofar as that destiny does not affect adversely the destiny of another people.

Now to define "imperialism" — this is the broad process whereby a people or a state apparatus — a government — seeks to impose its will upon others.

"Colonialism" usually refers to the "technique" by which the will is, in fact, imposed.

Usually "colonialism" and "imperialism" relate to people outside of the state that is doing the colonizing, i.e., relating to "foreign affairs", or "aliens". While that's ordinarily true, we have to keep in mind that there is a significant and close relationship between the exploitation of *classes within* a society and the exploitation of people who live *outside* of that society. In other words, it is very rare for a society that does not have *internal exploitation* along *class* lines to become an *imperialistic* society. Most people who go out and exploit other people are *already exploiting their own people before they start*.

Thus "colonialism" cannot be sharply or completely separated from exploitation of peasants, exploitation of workers, exploitation of women *within* a society stratified on *class lines*. *Almost all empires have been those kind of societies*.

With these definitions, then, "captive nations" can be understood simply as a people or a nation that is unable to achieve whatever level of autonomy or self-determination it would like to possess.

It is important to think about how "imperialism" and "colonialism" and "exploitation" might have begun. I think that it begins in the Middle East, in the Nile area, and in what was called Mesopotamia — what is now Iraq — in areas where large numbers of people began to live together without moving about. With these concentrations of population, a couple of other things developed also, such as the *class system* or some kind of social arrangement whereby some people are more exalted than others and possess rights to property that are superior to the rights possessed by others within that society, and more importantly, where those who are in the ruling group feel that they have the right to exploit those who are not in the ruling group.

Somehow, this kind of *internal* social exploitation begins where you have these concentrations of people in the Middle East. Probably simultaneously with that development, came the idea that the ruling groups have the right to make raids outside of their territory, to bring back captives to utilize as slave laborers, and who in turn are put at the bottom of the class system. In fact, this may be one of the ways in which the class system gets started in the first place as the slaves become the lowest level of the society.

Even more important than the development of exploitation as such, and the imperialism which appears, is the value system that runs along with that which makes it possible and justifies it. I call this value system "Machiavellianism" because Machiavelli's book, *The Prince*, is a classic description of those kind of values. Basically, "Machiavellianism" is the belief that one has the right, if one has the power, to do anything whatsoever, no matter what the consequences to other human beings, no matter what religious laws may supposedly be in effect — in short, the end justifies the means. The gaining of power, glory, wealth justifies the use of any means whatsoever in that system.

Somewhere in that system, the belief also develops that human beings are not ends in themselves, that individual people have no dignity and rights of their own, and that those who have the power to exploit do exploit those with less power. If another man falls within your power, you can do what you please with him, according to the morals of that system.

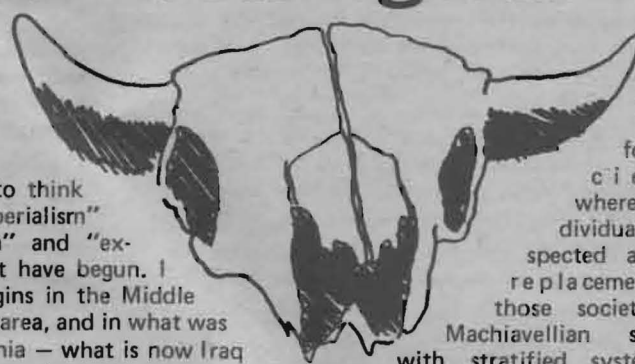
Now that's very different from a lot of other approaches to looking at human beings. In traditional North American native societies, for example, each human being is an *inviolable* thing, and that you *cannot* interfere with the individual rights of another person. Other people cannot be used as *means* as each person is already a unique individual end. One cannot intervene, even, coercively in the affairs of another individual.

But we find the complete opposite thing developing in the Mediterranean world: the individual was not inviolate at all — anybody can do with an individual what he pleases as long as he can get away with it. In other words, power *as such* becomes the final arbiter of everything. All right and wrong is determined by whether, in fact, you do it.

That way of thinking is a disease. It is a sickness that is catching — it is the most contagious disease known to man.

It spread throughout the Mediterranean — the Roman Empire, the Alexandrian Hellenistic Empires, and these other states spread that kind of thinking. And then it's brought by Europeans to the Americas, is taken by Europeans to Africa, and to those Asian areas where it hadn't reached before.

In fact, in one way, the history of mankind for the last 4,000 years is primarily the history of the destruction



of democratic folk societies where the individual is respected and the replacement of those societies by Machiavellian societies with stratified systems of class structure and with exploitation. That is what was happening in Indo-China in this decade.

Whole nations as well as individuals have been affected by this disease, this "new morality". I don't believe it is the original basic morality of human beings. People do not seem to originally have had this "get-what-you-can-and-to-hell-with-everybody-else" thinking.

That morality is the basis for the First World, because ultimately the capitalist system is based upon what they call the "profit motive". And although profit as such is not bad, because in all exchanges among human beings there is always profit to one individual and preferably profit to the other individual as well. But the capitalist system is based upon the accumulation of excess profit, and the reinvestment of that accumulation, and so on.

All people of Europe or in the capitalist society are not equally infected by "Machiavellianism". A lot of European peasant people, rural peoples, even some working-class peoples and others are not "Machiavellian" or are not *completely* "Machiavellian". But even they are subject increasingly, in the process of what is called "urbanization" and "industrialization," to the tearing apart of their traditional social fabrics. And when those social fabrics are torn apart, the individuals will tend to drift in a "Machiavellian" direction.

This spread of "Machiavellianism" is also present in the Second World — the Communist world — and in fact, Communism as such is extremely "Machiavellian". Communism, in my opinion, has done nothing but develop a new ideology *within* a "Machiavellian" framework, and is not radically different from capitalism in its *effects upon human beings* and its attitudes towards the individual human being, and attitudes toward groups of people and their rights of freedom and so on. Both the First and Second World belong to the sickness of "Machiavellianism".

The Resistance Against Imperialism

Throughout this 4,000-year-period in which the sickness of empires, colonialism, exploitation and so on, has been spreading throughout the world, involving more and more people, there has always been resistance.

People have always fought against imperialism.

Whether it be in the Americas among native peoples, whether it be in Africa, Asia, or even in parts of Europe, you will always find tremendous struggle waged by people to preserve their independence against imperialist forces. Sometimes they win for long periods of time. Sometimes geography helps them. Sometimes they're simply too isolated so that the exploiters don't really want to take the time to bother them because it's too difficult to get to where they are.

But ultimately, group after group is defeated. And then there are rebellions. Rebellions are not new — what are called the "national liberation" struggles of our own time, for instance, are predated by national liberation struggles in almost every epoch of history. For example, in the days of the Roman Empire, there were the rebellions of various Celtic-speaking peoples, Germanic-speaking peoples, Arabic-speaking people, Kaibili-speaking peoples of North Africa, and so on. Many different groups rebelled against the Romans.

But what happens? Tragically so, some of the groups that rebel against the Romans win their independence all right, but they are captured by the Roman ideology. That is, by the time they have won their independence, *they are Romans*.

And this is true of the Franks, true of the Lombards, the Vandals, of almost all of the Germanic tribes that invaded and overran the territories of the Roman Empire. The result: they themselves tried to set up new empires.

In France, for example, the Celtic masses were at the bottom, the formal Roman ruling class was at the next level, and then on top of the Roman ruling class you now have a new Frankish ruling class consisting of all the Frankish warriors who came in and established themselves as what later manifests itself as the system of dukes, lords, counts, and so on and so forth — dividing up the Celtic population so they can contribute their labor and tribute to the Frankish lords.

Gradually, in many cases, the old Roman ruling class and the new Frankish invaders, by intermarriage, become one ruling group — and the masses stay as oppressed as before, excepting certain areas such as Brittany where the Bretons fight for a long time and reassert themselves.

This is something we see over and over again — people get their independence, but they stop short of obtaining the right to determine their own destiny. Instead, they take the *tools* they have learned from the colonialists, and they themselves begin to use these tools to colonize others.

That is part of the sickness of "Machiavellianism" — in order to fight against "Machiavellians" you yourself become "Machiavellian". And so your victory becomes meaningless because you are the same as those you destroy by the time you win. That's one of the tragedies of human history and one of the things we have to grope with: how can we win liberation without becoming conquerors when we achieve our goals? That is not an easy problem, and there are no easy answers.

As part of the struggle against modern imperialism and colonialism, self-determination came to be spoken of as a *concept*, particularly about the time of the end of World War I. Then, Czechoslovakia, Poland, Yugoslavia, and certain other states made their appearance for the first time in the last few hundred years. Of course, there was a lot of self-determination that didn't take place at the end of World War I, as in the Arab world, Africa, Asia, and North America. But in Europe, at least, there was some lip-service to this concept of self-determination.

A lot of people feel that the concept of self-determination failed because what happened in Eastern Europe after World War I led right into World War II in Europe. As a matter of fact, World War I and World War II are nothing but a single war, with a kind of truce or break in between. And Eastern Europe is one of the key factors in the continuation of that one war.

People who do not have this view, however, say "self-determination doesn't work. Look what happened: the Bulgarians, the Greeks, the Yugoslavs, the Hungarians, the Romanians, the Czechoslovakians, the Poles were all fighting among each other — not always in armed warfare, but politically and diplomatically knifing each other in the back and creating a situation in many respects which allowed the Germans to begin again the move toward the East. In fact, when Hitler was trying to carve up Czechoslovakia, Poland took its share. And of course, a good many of them teamed up with Hitler in the beginning of World War II — Romania dreamed of getting all the area north of the Black Sea, all the way to the Crimea in the "Greater Romania" and Romanian forces helped invade the Soviet Union alongside German troops. Hungary wanted to get a good part of Romania. The Finns dreamed of a "Greater Finland" and they fought against the Russians partly for that reason as well as partly for defensive reasons.

One of the problems is that the boundaries created after World War I were not *just* boundaries — the local peoples were not allowed to determine their own boundary situations. There were a few areas where local voting was held, but for the most part, the lines were just drawn on maps so that in every case there were "minority" peoples on both sides of the boundaries. Of course, because of the movements of people and intermarriage, there were no clean-cut boundaries. Instead, there are belts, sometimes of a few miles width, sometimes of hundreds of miles, where you have two nationalities or more in the same territory.

Understanding and give-and-take is needed. People exchange territories by voluntary agreement, and one group moves to one place and another group moves to another if they cannot live together — and in many of those areas, people could not live together because there was an awful lot of hate between various groups. For them, the best thing is separation, a *clean* boundary. But instead of give-and-take, it was mostly take. "We're going to get as much for Bulgaria as we can get and to hell with the Macedonians," and so on and so forth.

In other words, self-determination to many of these Eastern European groups meant self-determination at the expense of the self-determination of other neighboring peoples. And that is not self-determination at all, but is the emerging form of a new imperialism. This is one of the reasons why Hitler had it so easy because a good many of the Eastern European nation-states were in fact building imperialist nations themselves.

Now all this is directly applicable to the world we face today. We're all concerned with "captive nations" around the world, "captive peoples" who are struggling. We collectively call this, sometimes, the Third World.



But are we sure that these "captive nations" and "captive peoples" have learned anything from the history that's been discussed here? Are they going to stab their neighbors in the back the moment they get arms and power? The Pakistanis wouldn't allow the Bengali people to have self-determination until Bangladesh won independence in 1971, for example.

In almost every one of the so-called independent states of the so-called Third World, we have peoples in rebellion right now, or peoples being suppressed and denied their autonomy and self-determination. There is no indication whatsoever that peoples in Africa, Asia, and the Americas — when they get guns and political power — are going to treat other peoples any better than the European colonialists and imperialists from whom they learned.

So when I think of the Third World and Third World philosophy, I'm thinking of something more than just self-determination as such. I'm thinking more than just political *state-apparatus* liberation. I'm thinking of the liberation of human beings from the evil sickness of imperialism, whether it be cultural imperialism, religious imperialism, poli-

tical imperialism, military imperialism, economic imperialism, or whatever. I am interested in, and *only* in favor of, movements of liberation which seek to liberate the individual as well as the nation, which seek to liberate the individuals that, if they are not dissipated, will turn that nation — once it has its own state — into a threat to other people.

Just think of the Americas.

By definition of those who define such things in the world, there are almost no colonies, if any, in the Americas. The colonies are all gone, they say. The so-called Latin American republics are all independent, the United States is independent, Canada is independent, there are only a few little places left which are supposedly not independent. And yet as I look around the Americas, I find more than 30-million people speaking native languages, and perhaps up to 100-million people of native blood denied self-determination, denied control over their own destiny.

I'm confused, you see, by the people who tell me that colonialism is at an end just because an independent state-apparatus is set up. I don't buy that. Colonialism doesn't end just because a state apparatus is set up which might be called Nigeria or Peru — just because it is set up supposedly independent from Europe does not mean that the ruling classes are not as colonialist and as exploitive as the Europeans who have gone.

And so that's why I'm concerned with this. The liberation of Indian peoples and Indian-derived peoples from throughout the Americas depends upon something else — they will be able to secure the right to autonomy and self-determination *only when their neighbors change their values*. And I think that is the *real revolution* that has to take place — *changing the way people think about other people*.

If that takes place, then autonomy and self-determination *has* to follow, because if you're not going to exploit other human beings, you're not going to force a foreign state apparatus or a foreign system on them. But if you are still exploitive, it doesn't matter what you say your philosophy is — you, in fact, are going to exploit.



Ottawa, Canada — The Royal Canadian Mounted Police have tagged the "Red Power Movement" as the number one threat to Canada's security.

So said the *Montreal Gazette* in quoting a confidential RCMP report submitted to Solicitor-General Warren Allmand. The report was prepared to brief Allmand for an international conference on crime.

The report notes that before the Front de Liberation du Quebec (FLQ) crisis in 1970 provoked by French separatists, cabinet ministers were able to travel freely throughout Canada. But today, because of what the RCMP calls "Red Power militancy" it has become necessary for the RCMP to scrutinize each travel project carefully from a security standpoint. Now the danger is the Indians, as "The FLQ and other extremist Canadian groups of the right and left are relatively tranquil and are not considered dangerous in the near future," the report is quoted as saying.

The RCMP says it has learned recently that "certain Indian militants" have been collecting arms and making open threats of violence. "And if their demands are not met rapidly, it is conceivable that the Indian militants will try to reach their objectives through recourse to violence."

The RCMP is counting on information provided that the "Red Power militants" have the support of only a very small minority of Canada's native people — a fact that each passing day seems to hold less water.

Later, at a meeting of the American Bar Association, Allmand said that he didn't think Indians were violence-prone any more than any other group. However, he added darkly, "militant natives are not the predominating group in the Indian movement."

THE "RED POWER" SCARE HITS CANADA AND NO ONE KNOWS WHAT TO THINK

However, Ed Burnstick, a spokesman for the American Indian Movement in western Canada, said that the problem wasn't with militant Indians — it was with a government and society which had ignored all the issues raised by native protests over the last several years. Burnstick said that AIM reacted defensively, but had not been violent in its own actions.

"I'm not saying that it's going to happen next month, but an incident similar to that at Wounded Knee could occur soon in western Canada," Burnstick predicted. "It could happen anywhere, but the likeliest spot is western Canada. He said left-wing Indians outside AIM are capable of attacks against cabinet ministers, but that method of protest 'is not the Indian way.'"

Government has turned a deaf ear to native demands, Burnstick noted, and "a lot of young Indians both inside and outside AIM are getting tired of waiting."

Other official disclaiming came from RCMP Inspector John Poirier, who said the assertion that the paper was confidential was "totally false." He said the Indian militant issue took up only 3/4 of one page of a 21-page report. He said that the report claimed that the Red Power Movement was a threat to Canada's stability, not its security.

Prime Minister Pierre Elliot Trudeau commented on the report in a news conference, saying that the social

and economic problems of native people are more important issues than any threat of militants amassing arms. "These people have a real grievance and they have a right to see it solved," he said.

The media played up the report big. On CBC-TV national news, the screen replayed film of the violent RCMP-native melee on Parliament Hill a year ago, or pictured a young Indian walking with a rifle while the announcer intoned that Indian militants had replaced the FLQ as the main menace.

The *Montreal Gazette* was sarcastic about the RCMP report. It suggested in an editorial that the House of Commons "should seriously consider fortifying Ottawa against crimson hordes storming in from the prairies, their dapple ponies stirring a cloud of dust that obscures even the sun, their war cries stabbing the peaceful air, and the trembling hearts of the capital's women folk. Poor Mr. Allmand... the solicitor-general must cope with the century-old thinking within [the RCMP] that still sees whites and Indians locked in mortal combat for the prerogative of eliminating the bison. Mr. Allmand should scrutinize carefully the next RCMP budget requests to make sure that in their zeal the horsemen are not asking for too many Winchester 73s, too many logs for fort building, too many tents to house their men guarding railway builders, too many chuck wagons, too many bugles to sound the charge." All the talk and backtalk left Indian emotions confused: should they be more insulted because more attention was given to their militancy than their grievances, or because their militancy is not taken seriously enough — given the native situation in Canada, if native movements are not upsetting Canada's stability, perhaps they should be.

RESOURCES

TAPE

(a tape catalog is available on request listing many more titles available)

The tapes listed in this column are part of a series for schools, discussion groups, tape libraries, radio and individuals. The series is always being updated, added to, and this list is mostly new additions.

Prices are for reel-to-reel tape at 3-3/4 ips, or on cassette or cartridge. (please specify!) Institutions are expected to pay full price, but individuals and those who can't afford more can pay half-price.

30 minutes — \$7.00
45 minutes — \$8.50
60 minutes — \$10.00
90 minutes — \$11.00

SOUNDINGS FROM AKWESASNE: The history of the Longhouse and occupation of islands in the St. Lawrence River in 1970. 30 minutes.

SELF DETERMINATION, COLONIALISM, AND CAPTIVE NATIONS: "How can we re-liberate without becoming one of the conquerors when we achieve it?" When power alone determines what you can do, it is a disease that spreads. The history of the past five centuries is the history of conquest of democratic societies by Machivellian greed-based conquerors. But the conquest came after 4,000 years of resistance which continues today. A lecture by Dr. Jack Forbes. 45 minutes.

HARRY BELAFONTE: tells an AIM rally in St. Paul that his freedom depends upon the freedom of the native peoples. A man who left his career as a singer to assist in electoral politics explains how Wounded Knee changed his own perspective on America. 30 minutes.

RUSSELL MEANS TALKS: about the AIM patrol in Minneapolis which got the organization underway; AIM's relationship to the church; plus a statement of AIM's spiritual foundation. 30 minutes.

GLADYS BISSONETTE, LOU BEAN & GRACE BLACKELK — Three Oglala women active in the occupation tell of reservation conditions and their fight for self-determination. 45 minutes.

NATIVE PEOPLE'S CARAVAN & EM-BASSY: If anyone still believes the myth that Canada's relationship with native people is less violent than that of other imperial nations, this program will help them to re-evaluate the armed truce. It traces the origins of the Native People's Caravan which reached Ottawa on September 30, 1974, and culminated in the first use of Canada's RCMP riot squad. Also on the founding of the Native People's Embassy. 30 minutes.

WILLIE DUNN: Stereo folksinging of Willie Dunn, a Minnecan/Metis folksinger, with a Grass Dance Song & Chief's Song by Jerry Saddleback. Includes Ballad of Crowfoot from the film of the same name plus Louis Riel, Charlie Wenjack, School Days, Crazy Horse, The Carver. Full album. \$5.

THE BRITISH COLUMBIA LAND CLAIM — The Indian peoples of B.C., after pressing their land claim for 98 years, have gained some recognition of their claim through the courts and the Canadian Parliament in 1973. This tape reviews the claim, the court decision in the Nishga case, and the government response as background to what is happening in B.C. right now. 60 minutes.

THREE MESSAGES FROM RAY FADDEN: History of the Iroquois Confederacy, Contributions of Indians, Problems, by the elder of the Six Nations Museum at Onchiota, New York. Excellent for schools. 45 minutes.

RAMONA BENNETT/PUYALLUP NATION. A relevant message of her people by a leader of her nation, and the struggle to build a life on the last remaining treaty right — the right to fish. The account of the struggle of the people — and the fish — for survival. 30 minutes.

THE POETRY OF GARY SNYDER. Gary Snyder, a long-time spokesman for the natural world, reads his poetry at a benefit for the Committee of Concern for the Traditional Indian at Glide Church in San Francisco. Included are many selections from his recent book, "Turtle Island," which earned for him the 1975 Pulitzer Prize in poetry. Also included are two poems by Mohawk poet Peter Blue Cloud, "Last Boat to Alcatraz" and "Coyote Man and the Young Lady". Recorded January 19, 1973. 60 minutes.

VERNON BELLECOURT — The national field director for the American Indian Movement speaks of AIM's spiritual roots, the work in which it first began, and where it is going now. Material was recorded during Wounded Knee occupation and after the recent FBI assault on Oglala. 45 minutes.

STOKELY, AIM, & YOU: Stokely Carmichael, former SNCC organizer and now with the All-African Peoples' Revolutionary Party headquartered in West Africa, came to give his support to the Wounded Knee defendants in St. Paul. This program is a recording of speeches by William Kunstler, Russell Means, and Stokely on the meaning of revolution, the relationship between the Third World and native peoples of North America. 60 minutes.

BUFFY STE. MARIE: talks with Brunilda Wheeler and describes her childhood and her return to her community on the prairies. She stresses the importance of each person finding their own way in the native world. 15 minutes.

GOD IS RED: A TALK BY VINE DELORIA, Jr., Lakota philosopher and attorney, on the necessity of native religious values for the Indian movement and for the future of North America. 30 minutes.

A PLACE THAT'S FOREVER. History of the Iroquois Confederacy produced for CBC by AKWESASNE NOTES. Includes an account of the origins of the White Roots of Peace by Sakokwenonkwaw and his own understanding of the prophecies, recollections of Emily General, respected grandmother and activist from Grand River Country; and an analysis by Rarihokwats, editor of AKWESASNE NOTES. 60 minutes.

THE ASSAULT ON OGLALA. Adapted from a broadcast by Natasha and Ralph Friar for WBAI in New York. Interviews by telephone of residents of Pine Ridge immediately after the killing of two FBI agents and Little Joe Stuntz at Oglala on June 26, 1975. Tells the story the media could have reported — and didn't. Includes interviews at a support rally in New York City. 90 minutes.

JOHN TRUDELL: ON COMMITMENT. One of the founders of AIM, John Trudell says that when talking about self-discipline for AIM, commitment becomes a number-one priority. This is a call for native people to get it all together and to participate in the struggles against oppression. 15 minutes.

RESTORATION IS A LONG ROAD. Ada Deer, a Menominee, tells of her experiences as a Washington lobbyist working within the legislative process to gain restoration for her people. She relates the political history of native people with special emphasis on the Menominee. Also included is an exclusive interview by Kevin McKiernan with Mel Chevalier, Jr., a member of the Menominee Warrior Society which occupied the Alexian Brothers Novitiate on January 1, 1975, to spark a debate about Menominee treaty rights. 90 minutes.

GANIENKEH, 1975. Fourteen months after the establishment of a Mohawk camp in the traditional homeland, the natural people are still there, prepared to stay for generations to come. Legal confrontations over their seizure of a site in the Adirondack Park still loom ahead. Produced by Akwesasne Notes in conjunction with Ganienkheh Communications. 60 minutes.

TRAVEL

This is the Autumn itinerary for AKWESASNE NOTES/White Roots of Peace travelling group. We are always glad to meet our friends as we travel. It is always good, too, to have a place to rest, or get caught up on our work. And persons near our route who want us to stop by are invited to write or telephone us at (518) 358-4697.

MORTON, MINNESOTA — Lower Sioux Community, Monday, September 29, evening.
BILLINGS, Montana — Eastern Montana State, Friday, October 3.
MISSOULA, Montana — Indian Center, Saturday evening, October 4.
SPOKANE, Washington — Whitworth College, Monday, October 6.
OLYMPIA, Washington — Evergreen State College, Wednesday, October 8.
Mt. ANGEL, OREGON — Colegio Cesar Chavez (tentative), Saturday, October 11.
CORVALLIS, Oregon — Oregon State University, Tuesday, October 14.
DAVIS, CALIFORNIA — DQU, Saturday, October 18.
STOCKTON, California — University of Pacific, October 21, Tuesday.
HAYWARD, California — California State University, Wednesday, October 22.
FRESNO, California — California State University, Thursday afternoon and Friday morning, October 23-24.
NORTHRIDGE, California — California State University, Tuesday, October 27.
WALNUT, California — Mt. San Antonio College, Wednesday, October 28.
LOS ANGELES, California — Loyola Marymount College, Thursday, October 30.
FULLERTON, California — California State University, Friday, October 31.
LARAMIE, Wyoming — University of Wyoming, Monday, November 3.
PUEBLO, Colorado — Southern Colorado State College, November 13, Thursday. (date tentative).

In addition, the sponsorship of colleges, native groups, and others is being sought in Tacoma and Seattle, Washington, Portland, Oregon; Marysville/Chico, San Luis Obispo, Santa Barbara, Long Beach California; Fort Collins, Boulder, Denver, and Colorado Springs, Colorado, and in Kansas.

Prison meetings are being negotiated at Deer Lodge, Montana; Monroe, Steilacoom, and Gig Harbor, Washington; Marysville, Jamestown, San Quentin, Folsom, San Luis Obispo, Lompoc, California; Salem, Oregon (2); Rawlins, Wyoming; and Englewood, Colorado. Every effort will be made to accept other invitations in institutions near the group's itinerary.

Accompanying the group is Ellen Moves Camp, Oglala activist; Philip Deere, American Indian Movement spiritual advisor; Rarihokwats of AKWESASNE NOTES; Juan Reyna, Aztec poet/artist; David Baker, Anishnawbe folksinger, and other persons active in the movement of native peoples.

A winter trip is being planned for Alabama, Georgia, Florida, North and South Carolina, Virginia, West

Virginia, Maryland, Delaware, and D.C. in January and February.

In the spring, a tour through Wisconsin, Michigan, Minnesota, Illinois, Indiana, Ohio, Missouri, Iowa, Manitoba, and Northwestern Ontario is slated.

Supporters of AKWESASNE NOTES and native causes can greatly assist by encouraging colleges and native groups to sponsor White Roots of Peace in their area. Colleges should contact Royce Carleton, 866 UN Plaza, New York, N.Y. 10017 [(212) 355-7931] for information, and native groups should contact Juan Reyna at AKWESASNE NOTES, Mohawk Nation, via Roosevelt-own, N.Y. 13683 [telephone (518) 358-4697.]

White Roots of Peace is exploring the use of theatre to further consciousness-raising among both native and non-native peoples. Persons who could take roles in dramatizing the siege on Wounded Knee 1973 and engaging in dialogue with audience are needed, particularly older men and women free to travel. Contact AKWESASNE NOTES.

We always need people to further the work of the group — those who follow and defend the traditions of their people, who uphold the Great Law of Peace, and who can participate as members of a group with skills of speaker, craftsman, singer, etc., or young people learning those skills. We need native people who are writers, photographers, artists, poets to create materials for publication. Perhaps if you know of people who can and should be travelling with the group, you might suggest that they contact us.

KEEP US STRONG!!

This paper cannot exist without the support of its readers — you, the human beings who read these words. There are many ways — responsibilities, actually — to keep the paper alive and strong:

— take action on what you read. Write letters, think, give support, change your lifestyle, lend spiritual help, form a community support group.

— send clippings from your local papers. If there is a good photo, ask the newspaper if they will send you a glossy print. Date and identify all clippings. Who will clip in Pittsburgh? Washington, D.C.? Detroit? Minneapolis? Lincoln? Albuquerque? Denver? Seattle? Edmonton? Winnipeg?

— send us your own articles, essay, book reviews, editorials, letters, poems, photos, tapes. All can be returned upon request.

— take the responsibility of covering events for NOTES. Send a completed article, or information & tapes. Conduct interviews. Tape speeches & conferences.

— send us mailing lists — we will send sample copies of the next issue. How about a list of tribal members? claims recipients? urban center addresses?

sell the paper at a powwow, meeting, church, on your reservation, at the Indian center, in stores, in town, on campus. Great chance to talk about the issues for consciousness-raising. Educate your community. You send us 35 cents for each paper after and if they are sold, or 25 cents each in advance.

— let us know of people who should have the paper — native people in institutions, friends, anyone who may want/need to read NOTES.

— check at your local city, county, community, university, high school LIBRARIES to see if they have a paid subscription to NOTES. (\$5 suggested donation.) If they don't, suggest that they get one.

— Indian education funds available? Title IV? Library grant? Suggest that your group order books from NOTES to boost their selection of native materials, and to bolster NOTES income.

— form a committee, or go by yourself to encourage bookstores, poster shops, gift stores, tobacco shops to carry NOTES books, crafts, smoking mixtures. Tell them to write — or send us their addresses. Follow up in a month to see if they did.

You can be a participant in the native causes by helping to spread the word, to create change, to inform. AKWESASNE NOTES is a part of that. You can work together with us, from your own area, no matter how far away that might be in miles. Everything in this issue of NOTES came from someone who cared to send it in. And to you all, we are grateful.

Native individuals, families, and groups who are working to restore their Old Ways and to become self-sufficient in raising their own foods sometime need modest amounts of money to become established and independent. A private benefactor has indicated a wish to assist such efforts in North America, and AKWESASNE NOTES will forward proposals to him, as he wishes to remain anonymous at this time. A letter giving full particulars should be sent to AKWESASNE NOTES, listing location, amounts required, and for what purpose, and a description of what the group is working toward. Small grants are given.

HOW TO SUBSCRIBE TO THIS PAPER

There is no fixed subscription price. But that does not mean this paper is free. Printing alone for this issue costs \$5,000 and typewriters, ribbons, postage, glue, etc. will add almost \$2,000 more — and that doesn't include costs of keeping full-time staff alive. We are not funded by foundations, government, or universities.

Our money comes mostly in small donations from readers. Some people have lots of money, others have none. If you want the paper, we'll be glad to send it to you. If you want to help with the costs, we will appreciate that — that's the Indian way. Make it work.

Another issue will be ready for mailing as soon as funds for printing have accumulated.

RESOURCES

1976 NATIVE AMERICAN CALENDER READY SOON!

The new AKWESASNE NOTES calendar for 1976 is being prepared now for mailing on November 1. The theme for this coming year is the sovereignty of our native nations, meaning how to be a human being on this earth, sort of our answer to the U.S. Bicentennial.

Each month has its own handsome poster-size drawings by Kahonhes, Clayton Brascoupe, and Carl Winters. Important events affecting native Americans are recorded on the days on which they occurred throughout history. The cycles of our grandmother, the moon, are given in different native languages, and the phases of the moon are noted. The calendar is large, 17 x 22 inches, and each page is a separate work of art, suitable for framing long after 1976 has passed. It will fit in nicely in homes, social center, places of work.

Early orders enable us to have your calendar on hand November 1. A sudden rush of late orders, requiring reprinting, causes delays.

Calendars can be given as gifts, each mailed on December 1 in a separate tube to an address list you have supplied to us, with a gift card with your name and message enclosed, or we can supply them to you in quantities for distribution in your own way.

Native organizations can use the calendars for fund-raising — in quantities of 50 or more, there is a 50% discount. Many groups use this as a major income for their programs — and it helps AKWESASNE NOTES to survive as well. The same discount applies to bookstores, student groups, even individuals — but again, early ordering is important so we can anticipate the proper supply.

Last year, almost 30,000 calendars were sold.



Single calendars are \$3 each, mailed in cardboard tube to ensure that it reaches you in good condition. Send your orders now to:

AKWESASNE NOTES
Mohawk Nation
via Rooseveltown, N.Y. 13683

VOICES FROM WOUNDED KNEE-1973



Ellen Moves Camp

VOICES FROM WOUNDED KNEE, 1973: The People Are Standing Up. Published by Akwesasne Notes. This is the story of the liberation of Wounded Knee in the words of the participants, culled from 100 hours of tape recorded while the occupation was in progress. It is accompanied by 200 photographs, and several maps. This account is essential reading for anyone who wants to understand this episode of the struggle for human dignity and freedom in North America.

It too is a fine gift. The price is \$4.95 for the 282-page book.

You can help in the distribution of this book, your book, by asking bookstores to carry it on their shelves. Or native groups and other organizations and individuals might want to sell the book themselves. Enquire for resale discounts, and discounts for classroom use.

CRAFTS

Mohawk black-ash and sweet-grass baskets and other natural crafts are available through the NOTES Crafts Program organized by Bertha Oakes. There are a variety of crafts available, including ribbon shirts, fungus paintings, quilts, cradleboards, etc.

LARGE FANCY BASKETS with sweetgrass: \$18. Made of plain light-colored black-ash splint.

BEADED FLORAL MEDALLION on a strong leather band: \$22.50.

SMALL SEWING BASKETS with lots of sweetgrass: \$10.

PACK BASKETS — ideal for laundry hampers, backpacking, or food storage. 18" \$16; large \$27. Very sturdy.

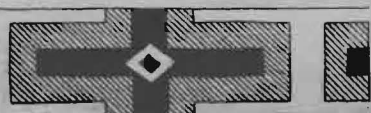
STAR QUILTS, doubled size, really beautiful, \$67.50.

Shipping costs are additional, usually about \$2 or less.

Crafts are also available in wholesale quantities at a 25% discount for orders over \$100. A mixture can be supplied, and items not sold can be exchanged for additional pieces of the ones which sell well. Returns for full credit are possible after the \$100 minimum has been sold.

DISCS

THROUGH ARAWAK EYES a stereo, long-playing album of songs by David Campbell, Arawak folksinger, with ballads about native and other oppressed peoples in the Americas. \$5.00. Also available: an illustrated book of songs and poetry to go with the album, with notation for guitar. \$2.50. The Toronto Globe & Mail said this about the album: "His gentle ballads are sung more in sadness than in anger and are a reminder that all is still not well in race relations... He sings in a firm and



vibrant voice with limited accompaniment of Canada's native people's struggles in the James Bay area, of the resettlement of Amerindian natives in Brazil, and of migrant workers in Canada's orchards..." Contains 13 songs, including to-be-classics *Splinters of the Tree*, *Kodid*, and *No, Not Columbus*. Highly recommended listening.

EXTRA COPIES of this issue are available for single copy orders, or for bulk distribution and resale. Distributing this paper is useful to raise consciousness about native causes, and is also good for fund-raising. On consignment, the paper is 35 cents each — you pay after they have been sold. Payment in advance is 25 cents each. For \$5, then, a person could give 20 copies to friends, a class, or pass them around the reservation. For \$25, a reservation group could see that 100 homes each received a copy.

MICROFILM

AKWESASNE NOTES is available on microfilm & microfiche from a number of sources:

Bell & Howell Co.,
Underground Press Microphoto Division
Old Mansfield Road
Wooster, Ohio 44691

Kraus-Thomson Organization Ltd.
Route 100,
Milwood, New York 10546

University Microfilms
Ann Arbor, Michigan 48105
Microfilm Corporation of America
21 Harristown Road,
Glen Rock, New Jersey 07452

PRINTER'S OVER-RUN

We have some extra copies of some recent back issues — they're bundled up five copies of each of four editions, and available for \$3 postpaid. (That's 20 copies).

BACK ISSUES

Volume One (1969) is out of print, and available only on microfilm. There were ten issues that year.

Volume Two (1970) had seven issues. All are now out of print, available only on microfilm.

Volume Three (1971) had nine issues. All are now available only on microfilm.

Volume Four (1972) had six issues. Three are still in print — numbers 3, 4, 5.

Volume Five (1973) had six issues. Numbers 3, 4, 5, 6 are still available.

Volume Six (1974) had five issues, and all are still available.

Volume Seven (1975) has had four issues, including this one, and all are still available. This is the 47th issue of AKWESASNE NOTES.

Back issues are available for some editions for 50 cents each.

Fourteen are still in print — all available back issues can be obtained for \$6.00.

OUR OWN PUBLICATIONS

NATIVE COLOURS, a book of poetry by Karoniaktatie, covering the years of his life when he was sent out to an Eastern prep school until his return to his people and his beginning to understand the meaning of the Old Ways. Beautifully designed, illustrated, and written by the poet — a visually-beautiful & colorful presentation. 88 pages. \$2.50 postpaid.

BIA: I'M NOT YOUR INDIAN ANY MORE: with the Twenty Points of the Trail of Broken Treaties. \$1.95, 96 pp, paperback. 8½ x 11. The story of the occupation of the Bureau of Indian Affairs headquarters in Washington, D.C., in 1972. The book also contains the position paper of the group which could revolutionize Indian/U.S. relationships — plus the official White House reply, and a rebuttal to the White House. This dialogue will be heard throughout the 1970s — or until it demands have been granted. It needs to be understood — and acted on — by every U.S. citizen and every native person.

TIAHUANACO MANIFESTO proclaimed by Native People of Bolivia. 8 pages, 25 cents. Speaks of the importance of Quechua and Ayama cultures today, with a recap of the Spanish Conquest and the current economic situation. Demands for new leadership and better education in rural areas. A people's voice well spoken. An INDIGENA series.

A Message to All People: The Hopi Prophecy: A spiritual message as old and timeless as the land. Illustrated. A warning — with hope — of interest to all human beings. \$1.00.

Declaration of Barbados:

This pamphlet should be discussed thoroughly by all students of anthropology — college and campus bookstores should let the anthro department know it is in your stock. Church officials — and all concerned people — will find it of interest too. It discusses the role of non-native scholars and missionaries with the native people. 25 cents.

A Hard Look at American Catholic Folklore: A pamphlet with two articles by Richard Lundstrom, "Mohawks, Martyrs and Myths," and "For If the Indian Peoples Die, Who Among Us Deserve to Live?" Just 25 cents for a copy of these reprints from NOTES. Church groups are buying them by the hundreds for lively discussion at 40% discount, for any large quantity.

INDIAN TOBACCO

KINNI-KINNICK — blends of herbal ingredients and fine tobaccos — is available from us. It is mixed, packed, and shipped from the Mohawk Nation. There is a brochure on the six available blends, but the best way to try it is to order 2-ounce samplers. They are \$1.15 each, or 3 for \$3.15, postage-paid. Test them out to find a favorite for re-ordering in ¼ or ½-pound pouch.

Each blend of KINNI-KINNICK is representative of the old mixtures for social smoking. The blends we have:

Eastern Woodlands
Thousand Campfires
Old Chippewa Straight
Mohawk
Western Plains
Northwest Coast

One blend, Old Chippewa Straight, contains no tobaccos — just barks, roots, leaves, herbs.

For tobacco shops, commercial outlets, or for fund-raising by groups, we suggest a sample shipment of six two-ounce pouches of each of the 6 blends for \$25 postpaid. That's a 1/3 discount. Returns permitted any time.

Order from: AKWESASNE NOTES, Mohawk Nation, via Rooseveltown, New York 13683.

Posters Available From AKWESASNE NOTES



South America



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Longhouse to Kiva



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Three Sisters



Grandma Hunter



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Fire Carrier



La Raza



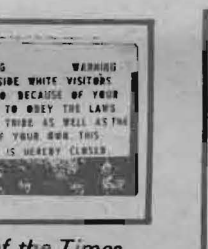
Dan Katchongva



Our Ideas



Statue of Liberty



Signs of the Times



Flathead Chief



Rush-Gatherer



Bear-Belly

22 Campesinos

23 Wintu Woman

24 Shrine of Hypocrisy

25. Circle of Life

In each issue of AKWESASNE NOTES, there is a centerfold poster. The entire series is available as separate posters, printed on heavy poster paper of various colors. They are 17 x 22 inches. Any combination of posters is available at 3 for \$1 or 50 cents each, plus 25 cents for a cardboard mailing tube. We reserve the right to substitute when we are out of stock. The posters are also excellent fund-raising items for schools, groups, fairs, powwows — 100 can be shipped, an assortment, for \$25.

Order from AKWESASNE NOTES, Mohawk Nation, via Rooseveltown, N.Y. 13683.

INDIGENA PAMPHLET SERIES

INDIGENA people cooperate with AKWESASNE NOTES in the publication of pamphlets on the native peoples of the Americas. Besides that, INDIGENA has a publication of their own available from POBox 4073, Berkeley, California.

From NOTES, the following three pamphlets are available for 25 cents each (quantity discounts available):

THE SITUATION OF INDIAN PEOPLES IN GUATEMALA: reprinted in this issue. A new pamphlet. A clear explanation of agrarian exploitation, political domination, and ideological

oppression of the native Mayan population by those who have taken on another way and foreign interests.

THE INDIAN SITUATION IN BRAZIL TODAY: Outlines the nature of the genocidal war being waged against native people of the Amazon. Destruction of communities is documented. Reprinted from *Journal do Brazil*.

THE RIGHTS OF INDIGENOUS WOMEN IN COLOMBIA: a strong statement by native women, made in the 1920s, and like the others in this series, illustrated by Miguel Sague. This is not a dry, legal statement, but a stirring, strong, emotional manifesto of the women.

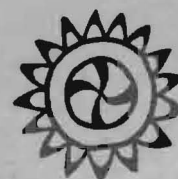
SIX NATIONS MUSEUM PAMPHLET SERIES

THE MIGRATION OF THE IROQUOIS: Pictographic writing, and text in English with some handsome drawings of Iroquois life, detailing a chapter of North American history — how the Iroquois migrated from the west to the northeast. 50 cents.

WAMPUM BELTS: photographs of reproductions of the Iroquois wampum belts, with a text explaining the meanings read in each. An interesting way to learn native history. \$1.50.

COSTUME OF THE IROQUOIS: this illustrated book describes in detail how to make the clothing which is traditional with the Iroquois people. \$1.50.

VISIT SIX NATIONS MUSEUM AT ONCHIOA, NEW YORK (near Saranac Lake)



THE GREAT LAW OF PEACE

This is the Iroquois Constitution, giving the law that tells the way that has been followed in Iroquois councils for a thousand years now. It was this government that gave many ideas to the Founding Fathers of the U.S. in drawing up the U.S. Constitution.

This translation into English is illustrated by Kahonhès. 84 pages, \$1.00.

BOOKS

This is a partial listing of books available through AKWESASNE NOTES. Still more titles were listed in the last issue, and more titles will be listed in the next issue.

Multiple copies of any title sold by NOTES are available for resale at discounts of 20% for books from other publishers, and 40% for our own publications. It's a chance for classrooms, church study groups, or others wanting to use a book or pamphlet — or for individuals and bookstores who want to resell books to their customers.



Poetry and Such

WHISPERING WIND: Poetry by Young American Indians. Edited by Terry Allen, featuring work by Phil George, Agness Pratt, Calvin O'John and other students of the Institute of American Indian Art. 124 p., \$1.95.

SHAKING THE PUMPKIN, edited by Jerome Rothenberg. A great range of traditional American poetry, experimentally translated. A good place to begin to find the spirit of a people. 474 p., \$4.95.

TALES FROM THE LONGHOUSE, by Indian Children of British Columbia. A collection of stories and customs written by school kids, many as told by their parents and grandparents. Light and enjoyable reading. \$1.95.

ALCHERINGA: ETHNOPOETICS. New Series: Vol 1, No. 1. A fascinating collection of songs, poems, stories of tribal peoples from all over the world. \$3.50. [Also, the Fall, 1970 issue for \$1.50.]

AMERICAN INDIAN MYTHOLOGY by Alice Marriott & Carol Rachlin. Stories from various native American peoples about the Creation, animal brothers and sisters, about life. \$1.50.

AMERICAN INDIAN POETRY: An Anthology of Songs and Chants, edited by George W. Cronyn. \$3.95. A beautiful classical selection of native poetry, many old songs of North America.

THE WAY, edited by Shirley Hill Witt and Stan Steiner. An anthology of native writings, some new, some old. A good reader for young and old. \$1.95.

The Northern Peoples

INDIANS OF THE NORTH PACIFIC COAST edited by Tom McFeat. Seventeen anthros go at it on the coast from the Canadian/U.S. border to southeastern Alaska, discussing Kwakiutl Potlatch, ceremonialism, rank and class, among other items. \$2.95.

THE CANADIAN INDIAN: A History Since 1500, by E. Palmer Patterson II. Through informative history of the native peoples fighting off French and British colonialism. \$3.00.

CHALLENGE FOR CHANGE. Summer, 1973. A National Film Board of Canada newsletter describing film projects as a means of creating social change amongst native peoples and others. 35 pages. 25 cents handling charge.

TWO ARTICLES by Wilfred Pelletier. An Odawa man writes "Childhood in an Indian Village" and "Some Thoughts About Organization and Leadership." Gives you an inside view your anthropologist can only wish for. \$1.25.

RESERVATIONS ARE FOR INDIANS by Heather Robertson. A factual often depressing report of life as Canada's native peoples are forced to live it in four native communities. \$2.95.

Peoples of the South

SERVANTS OF GOD OR MASTERS OF MEN by Victor Daniel Bonilla. A documented account of subjugation of peoples in the Amazonian Valley by Capuchin missionaries. \$2.65.

THE AZTEC: Man & Tribe, by Victor Von Hagen. An illustrated archeological account of the Aztecs and what they built. \$1.25.

MACHINE AGE MAYA by Manning Nash. A Guatemalan mountain community which has made an adaptation to the operation of Central America's largest textile mill. \$1.95.

Crafts and Arts

DESIGNS FROM PRE-COLUMBIAN MEXICO by Jorge Enciso. 300 designs, 105 p. A treasury of unique designs found on ancient malacates. \$1.50.

INDIAN BASKET WEAVING: The Navajo School of Indian Basketry. 104 p. Explains methods of coiled weaving, getting into basic techniques. \$1.75.

NORTH AMERICAN INDIAN DESIGN COLORING BOOK, rendered by Paul E. Kennedy. 46 designs that ma and pa will want to do before the kids. \$1.35.

MEDIEVAL AMERICAN ART by Par Keleman. In two volumes, each of about 400 p., paperback, with extensive photos. Vol I has an introduction with sections on architecture, sculpture and pottery. Volume II covers weaving, metal work, jade and other semi-precious stones, murals, manuscripts, and miscellaneous applied arts. It also has chapters on daily life and evolution of art form. Each volume is \$4.50.

PUEBLO DESIGNS by H.P. Mera. 113 p. An analysis of a well-known and frequently used design known as the "Rainbird". 176 illustrations.

AMERICAN INDIAN DESIGN & DECORATION by Leroy Appleton. 700 illustrations from the western hemisphere, plus some legends and cultural information. 265 p., large paperback format. \$4.00.

CROOKED BEAK OF HEAVY by Bill Holm. 93 p. The catalog of the Sidney Gerber Collection of Northwest Coast Indian Art in the Burke Washington State Museum. Photographs. \$4.95.

General History & Current Events

THE NAVAHO by Kluckhohn and Leighton. A readable account of the largest native nation under U.S. control, covering history, present economic situation, religion and social structure. Illustrated. \$2.50.

TO LIVE ON THIS EARTH: American Indian Education, by Estelle Fuchs & Robert J. Havighurst. 390 p. If you want to understand the reforms probably on the way, as well as the current situation in what passes for "Indian education", this book will be useful. \$3.95.

INDIAN AND THE WHITE MAN. Documents in American Civilization Series. \$2.95. Edited with an introduction by Wilcomb E. Washburn. From Christopher Columbus to the 1961 Chicago Indian Conference as seen through documents.

REPORT OF THE NEW FOUND LAND OF VIRGINIA by Thomas Harriot. The complete 1590 edition with 28 engravings by Theodor de Bry. \$2.50.

WHO'S THE SAVAGE, edited by David Wrono & Russell Nelson, Jr. A documentary history of the mistreatment of the native North Americans. 576 pages of history from the Vikings in 1006 through 1972. \$1.25.

CUSTER DIED FOR YOUR SINS: An Indian Manifesto, by Vine Deloria, Jr. Statement on the native situation, internal and external problems, told with perception and wit. \$1.50.

AMERICAN EPIC: The Story of the American Indian by Alice Marriott and Carol K. Rachlin. Mentor, 95 cents. Anthropologist account of growth of native civilization and its confrontation with European cultures. 95 cents.

INDIANS OF THE AMERICAS by John Collier. General history of Indian "conquest" and struggles in North and South America. \$1.25.

RISE AND FALL OF THE CHOCTAW REPUBLIC by Angie Debo. One of the "Five Civilized Tribes" forced to migrate from the south to Oklahoma, and their efforts in the latter half of the last century to maintain an autonomous government. \$7.95.

A HISTORY OF THE INDIANS OF THE UNITED STATES by Angie Debo. A sympathetic attempt to compile a comprehensive history of North American native peoples — since the arrival of white settlement. \$8.95, hardcover only.

FOREST INDIANS IN THE PRESENT POLITICAL SITUATION OF PERU by Stefano Varese. An IWGIA pamphlet. 29 pages, 70 cents.

INVOLVEMENT, a quarterly journal from Browndale, special native children's issue about foster care and child-rearing. \$1.25.

ABORIGINAL PEOPLE: A Selected Bibliography Concerning Canada's First People, by Don Whiteside. A reference bibliography, arranged by topic. 345 p., \$6.

NATIONAL INDIAN BROTHERHOOD LIBRARY ACCESSION LIST No. 1, August, 1973. A librarian's document, 12 p., 50 cents.

NATIONAL LAWYER'S GUILD INDIAN SUMMER PROJECT REPORT 1973: report of findings concerning various land disputes, 81 p.,

INTRODUCTION OF HANDBOOK OF AMERICAN INDIAN LANGUAGES by Franz Boas and INDIAN LINGUISTIC FAMILIES OF AMERICA NORTH OF MEXICO by T.W. Powell. A two-part book concerning the nature of native languages of North America and problems of classification. \$2.45.

EVERYTHING YOU EVER WANTED TO KNOW ABOUT INDIANS BUT WERE AFRAID TO FIND OUT by Don Bibeau, Carl Gawboy and Naomi Lyons. A relevant comic book where we laugh at ourselves. \$1.25.

NAVAHO INDIAN ETHNOENTOMOLOGY by Leland Wyman and Flora Bailey. Navajo classification of insects, references in myths, and representation in dry paintings. \$3.00.

AMERICAN INDIAN PORTRAITS from the Wanamaker Expedition of 1913 edited by Charles Reynolds, Jr. 120 pages of photographic portraits. A nice coffee-table book, if you've got a coffee-table. \$12.50 hardcover only.

THE AMERICAN INDIAN TODAY edited by Stuart Levine and Nancy O. Lurie. A compilation of essays about the social situation of various native peoples today. \$2.95.

TOUCH THE EARTH: A Self-Portrait of Indian Existence, compiled by T.C. McLuhan. Poetically-compiled photographs and recorded words of native Americans depicting a way of life — and its destruction. \$2.95.

PEOPLE OF THE DEER: Death of a People — The Ithliut. Volume I. By Farley Mowat. Sensitive and powerful account of diminishing Inuit peoples of the Northwest Territories of Canada and the treatment they have received by the colonialists. Experiences and photographs of the author included. \$5.95 — specify "Canadian Edition."

THE PEYOTE CULT by Weston LaBarre. A supportive but anthropological study of group use of psychedelic drug for spiritual purposes. \$2.45.

DEATH AND REBIRTH OF THE SENECA NATION by Anthony F.C. Wallace. 337 p. About the renaissance of a people — a clear, deep historical book about religious and cultural Iroquois life. \$2.45.

THE LIGHT IN THE FOREST by Conrad Richter. The classic story of a white boy captured, adopted, and raised up among Indians. 95 cents.

STAY AWAY JOE by Dan Cushman. Good humor about a fast-dealing free-wheeling fork-tongued "hero" of the new West. Caught between two worlds, this guy chooses to be mod. \$1.95.

OWL'S SONG by Janet Campbell Hale. A native woman's first novel. Billy White Hawk against the white world is a sensitive portrayal of a 14-year-old's struggle to remain Indian. \$4.50 hardcover only.

The Anishnawbeg

OJIBWAY WARRIORS' SOCIETY In Occupied Anicinabe Park, Kenora, Ontario, August, 1974. Pamphlet comprised of interviews with two members of the society and the Manifesto of the Native Peoples' Caravan. 33 p. 50 cents.

TREATIES AND AGREEMENTS OF THE CHIPPEWA INDIANS, as recorded by the U.S. Senate and U.S. law. \$5.

INDIANS OF THE WESTERN GREAT LAKES: 1615-1760, by W. Vernon Kinietz. 425 p. Based on the letters and journals of European traders, missionaries, and officials who visited the Miami, Ottawa, Potawatomi and Chippewa in the years before European contact had changed the life-style. \$2.95.

The Pacific Coast Peoples

UNCOMMON CONTROVERSY: Fishing Rights of the Muckleshoot, Puyallup, and Nisqually Indians. A report prepared for the American Friends Service Committee, with an introduction by Walter Taylor. \$2.95.

THE NEZ PERCE INDIANS AND THE OPENING OF THE NORTHWEST (abridged edition) by Alvin M. Josephy Jr. A weighty scholarly study of confrontation of a people and an invader. 667 ps., \$6.95.

NORTHWEST COAST INDIAN ART by Bill Holm. An analysis of the forms of N.W. Coast Indian Art, showing how artists stick to tradition and remain individualistic. \$4.95.

The Lives of Our People

WHITE SAVAGE: The Case of John Dunn Hunter by Richard Drinnon. The story of a white child who grew up as an Indian leader, travelled in Europe, and returned North America in a fatal attempt to found a native-European nation. \$12.50 hardcover only.

TO DIE GAME by W. McKee Evans. The story of the Lowry Band, Indian guerrillas in North Carolina during the Reconstruction Era. Hardcover only, \$8.95.

LINGUISTIC MAP OF NORTH AMERICA. Mailed in a 48" tube, this rolled huge colored map shows the major linguistic groups of native peoples. \$3.

INDIAN SCOUT CRAFT AND LORE by Charles A. Eastman. Scouts will enjoy this book, which tells of life as it was lived by Indian boys and girls of a century ago as recollected by one who left it. \$2.

EVERYDAY LAKOTA: An English/Sioux Dictionary for Beginners, edited by Joseph S. Karol. 3800 entries, 300 phrases, with pronunciation guide. \$3.35.

THE RED MAN'S BURDEN, by Peter Collier, reprinted from Ramparts, February, 1970. Discusses the political struggle native peoples are into during the late 1960s: Alcatraz, Colorado River, and the BIA. 10 pages, 25 cents handling.

FROM THE DEEP WOODS TO CIVILIZATION by Charles A. Eastman. Sequel to "Indian Boyhood," covering Eastman's adolescence, early maturity, and his involvement with Christianity and European culture. \$3.50.

PLENTY COUPS: Chief of the Crows, by Frank Linderman. An authentic biography of a loved leader. \$2.95.

INDIAN AMERICANS: Unity and Diversity, by Murray L. Wax. Using an ethnic framework, this textbook includes historical and sociological studies of urban and reservation native peoples. \$3.50.

KARNEE: A Paiute Narrative, by Lalla Scott. The biography of Annie Loury, a mixed-blood woman of Paiute mother and white father, her struggles growing up and living in a changing world, and how the Paiute way of life was disrupted. 95 cents.

SSTRANGE EMPIRE by Joseph Howard. A compelling biography and study of Louis Riel and the story of the Metis people in Manitoba and Saskatchewan. Highly readable. \$5.95.

POUNDMAKER by Norma Sluman. Life of a great Cree orator and peacemaker who lived in the mid-1800s. 301 pages, \$7.95 hardcover only.

INDIAN BOYHOOD by Charles A. Eastman. Autobiographical account of a Sioux during his first fifteen years of life, and how he was taught the traditional ways of his people. \$2.00.

MIDDLE FIVE by Francis LaFlesche. Life as a student in a Presbyterian mission school in northeastern Nebraska at the time of the Civil War. Two-culture struggle in a classic of native American literature, especially recommended to high schools and upper grades as a corrective to Hollywood's distortions. \$2.50.

FIGHTING TUSCARORA: Chief Clinton Rickard by Barbara Greymount. The autobiography of the Tuscarora leader who in this century founded the Indian Defense League of America. Illustrated. \$10.50 hardcover only.

Western Peoples

THE CHEYENNE INDIANS by George Bird Grinnell. First published in 1923, Vol. 1 is on history, old-time ways, village life, camp customs. Vol. II includes warrior societies, religious beliefs, disease, ceremonials. \$3.00 for each volume. 420 pages total.

THE WINNEBAGO TRIBE by Paul Radin. Written in the early 1900s. 500 pages of information as told by the People to a good interpreter. \$5.00.

THE WESTERN AMERICAN INDIAN: Case Studies in Tribal History, edited by Richard N. Ellis. Collection of 14 studies examining the effect of white settlement and governing policies on all aspects of western native life from the mid-1850s through the early 1970s. \$2.95.

THE PONCA CHIEFS: An Account of the Trial of Standing Bear, by Thomas Henry Tibbles. A factual historical account of Ponca claims to ancestral lands, and the efforts of Standing Bear to get before the courts as a "human being".

THE SACRED PIPE by Black Elk, recorded and edited by Joseph Epes Brown. A sensitive account of the seven sacred rites of the Oglala. \$1.45.

THE WAY TO RAINY MOUNTAIN by N. Scott Momaday. Poetically written and illustrated story of a man following the journey of his ancestral Kiowa people from Montana to the southern plains. \$1.25.

THE SKY PEOPLE by Tom Shakespeare. Partly anthropological, partly a personal reminiscence of the Arapahoe people, written by an Arapahoe man. \$3.95 hardcover.

THE TRICKSTER, recorded by Paul Radin. The uninhibited raucous episodes of the Winnebago Trickster cycle. Analyses by Radin, Kerenyi, and Jung. Good adult bedtime tales — with plenty of meaning. \$2.95.

Peoples of the Southwest

IN THE DAYS OF VICTORIO: Recollections of a Warm Springs Apache by James Kaywaykla as told to Eve Ball. A living biography of a people, well-remembered and well-spoken. \$4.95.

APACHE, NAVAHO & SPANIARD by Jack D. Forbes. Greatly-detailed history of the southern Athapascans and their relations with other peoples and the Spanish Empire from 1540 to 1698. Rich with footnotes and things you never knew. Hardcover only. \$7.95.

A SEPARATE REALITY: Further Conversations with Don Juan by Carlos Castaneda \$1.25, and its sequel, **JOURNEY TO IXTLAN: The Lessons of Don Juan**. \$2.95.

BOOK OF THE HOPI by Frank Waters. Informative though controversial book about all aspects of Hopi life from the beginning through the 1900s. \$1.95.

THE SOUTHWEST INDIAN REPORT: A Report of the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights, May, 1973. Problems in employment, education, health, law, programs documented in hearings. \$2.35.

SUN CHIEF, edited by Leo W. Simmons. \$4.50. An autobiography, giving even more than one might wish to know about the life of one Hopi man.

THE FOURTH WORLD OF THE HOPIS by Harold Courlander. An outsider's attempts to cover the story of the Hopi, occasionally with insight and occasionally going far afield. 95 cents.



Mayan Controversy Answered

NOTES: This is in response to Miguel Sague's letter in the Late Summer issue. It may or may not be possible to develop complex mathematics, astronomy, architecture, and so forth, and still keep one's primary relationship to Mother Earth. However, if we assume, as Miguel implies, that the [Mayan people] did not keep this relationship, then it seems strange to take for granted that this represents the true Mayan roots.

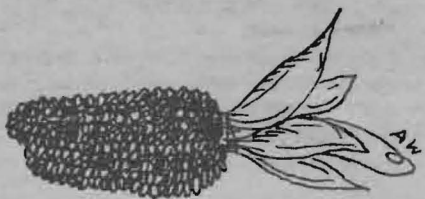
Each native people, throughout the world, is given by the Creator its own ways, its own rituals to help it more fully participate in the flow of Creation. Pan Indianism is a term used in several senses. I strongly agree that Pan-Indianism in the sense of giving up tribal identity to identify primarily as "Indian" is destructive to our cultures, but to rejoice and to take strength from the shared oneness with the Earth of native peoples is not Pan-Indianism. To live in harmony with the Creation is not "Indian" — the natural ways belong to all beings. The fact that a dragonfly, a pine tree, and a cloud share one great Power and that the true ways of each are natural ways, does not mean that they are giving up their "tribal identities".

I don't assume that Western scholars' interpretation of Mayan culture represents the way it had been experienced by the people themselves. But any people can forget its instructions. Prior to the coming of the Peacemaker, the Mohawks were a very warlike people. Yet would Miguel say that Mohawk "roots" are in that past, rather than in the Great Law of Peace? European peoples have almost come to symbolize living against the Creation — so much so that "white" is often used to mean oppressive, exploitative, unnatural ways. But less than two brief millennia ago, they were tribal peoples, living according to their own instructions of natural life and practicing a religion of the Earth. The disease that conquered the natural native peoples of Europe has spread to infect many native North Americans and to break up these nations. Today, we see many white youth who say they have "Indian souls" — when actually they are rediscovering their human-being souls.

If the Maya truly had lost the natural ways of life at the time of their "height of glory", and majestic cities, then even if it is their past, by definition, it cannot be their roots. Something, you know, preceded the period of those achievements which so dazzle Western writers. It is difficult for me to believe that, alone of all beings, the Maya have their original instructions in an unnatural way of life.

The fact that Western scholars have been so impressed by Maya "civilization" that they make that synonymous with Maya does not make this Maya roots. Just as any people can forget the Creator's instructions, so can any people regain them. If the people travelling on that White Roots of Peace trip [to Guatemala] sensed the power of natural life in the Mayan people they met, and felt the power of their own true ways reflected back to them (rather than seeing a carbon copy of the ways themselves), then I would trust that spirit message to contain more of the truth of Maya than whole libraries filled by Western scholars of Meso-American cultures.

Gayle High Pine
Riske Creek, British Columbia



More Answers to Miguel

FRIENDS: This letter is in response to Miguel Sague's "longwinded" letter to NOTES concerning the article on the Maya in Guatemala.

First, I recommend further study on his part and suggest he read several books by Frank Waters: *The Book of the Hopi* and *Mexico Mystique*. The many similarities and parallels between the old Middle America and present-day Pueblo ceremonies and beliefs may come as a surprise to him. I also recommend he read *Sons of the Shaking Earth* by Eric Wolfe. [These books are available from AKWESASNE NOTES's Resources.]

Re his scornful paragraph on the Maya getting "back to their roots". One would gather from his tirade that most of the ancient people lived in splendor, when in reality the priest-rulers were a very small minority. The great masses (far too many to be captured slaves) were the craftsmen, the common laborers, builders of the temples (10,000 taking 20 years for the Pyramid of the Sun), and the earth-bound peasants. No one came from afar to reduce anyone to peasantry. This segment of society emerged when the simple culture of seed planting developed into a more complex society of villages and holy towns. The very priesthood which Miguel extols so highly gave rise to a peasant class. The great religious centers required for their very existence the labors and tribute of the peasants, not only food but other products such as cotton, quetzal feathers, etc.

In *Sons of the Shaking Earth*, chapter IV, Wolfe writes of the community which embraces the individual households. "The community was the autonomous unit of social life; the growth of ties beyond its limits was still to come. And when we look at this unit in long-term perspective, we find that in Middle America it was never obliterated. The simple inventory of farm tools and kitchen equipment, the tasks of farming, the religious concepts geared to the cycle of planting and harvesting, the style of life centered upon the

community of one's birth — these have remained basic and stable until today." However, he continues, "the modern world is engaged in severing once and for all the ties which bind people into local unity, in committing them to complete participation in the Great Society. This is a one-way street, along which there is no return."

It is my understanding that it is this street of no-return that the editor [of NOTES] warns all natural people not to take, or to leave if they are already on it, no matter if they live in Middle America, North America, or anywhere else.

As for Miguel's not finding the Lakota language spoken "after 100 years of progressively lenient (1) U.S. rule" what has this boy been reading? For years, the native children have been forbidden to speak their native tongues in schools and were severely punished if they dared. Only recently has the policy of suppression changed.

So, back to the drawing board, Miguel. You will have to come up with better answers than the ones you gave to convince this reader the article in NOTES was misleading.

Elizabeth King Follett
Louisville, Kentucky

And One from Guatemala

NOTES: The note by Miguel Sague, Jr., [Late Summer issue, letters] was rude, radical, and false in several aspects and I do not agree with it because of its unnecessary violence as well as the confusion of ideas stated by him in the report.

I also ask you to kindly allow me to congratulate you on the publication of your journal, perfectly and vividly edited, which must fully satisfy you because it is worthy of the causes you defend and serve.

Carlos Manuel Pellecer
Consul General of Guatemala
Houston, Texas



Cesar Paul, an Algonkin farmer, trapper and hunter who travelled widely by foot, dogsled and canoe, left his people July 25 after 112 years of life. He is survived by seven children, 40 grandchildren, and 58 great-grandchildren. Until he entered hospital May 8 after his pipe set his shirt on fire, he had never been in a hospital in his life. He drank natural medicine every day. He resided at Fort Coulange, Quebec.

Chief Rex Buck, Sr., one of the three remaining members of the Wanapum Nation which had several thousand persons when Lewis and Clark first met them in 1806, passed on in his sleep at his home at Priest Rapids Dam in Washington State. He was 49 years old. Now there are two Wanapums left.

Her people remember Edith Bess, of the Shinnecock Reservation, who joined the spirit world on September 4. She was the wife of the ceremonial chief of the Shinnecock people, and the clanmother of the Thunderbird family.

Gone and mourned are Dan Lee, 18; Ruth Blacksinger, 54, Christine Rose Smith, 6; Wilson Jones Singer, 18, of Kayenta, Arizona; Herbert Austin, 18, of Shonto, Roy Singer, two unidentified children age 14 and 1; Joe Billy Begishe, 16, of Tonle, and Henry Tsinnijinnie, who died when their pickup truck and sedan slammed head-on on the Navajo Reservation July 6, one of the worst traffic accidents in Navajo history.

It has been almost a year since the passing of Clifford Diabo, a Mohawk from Kanawake who was vice-president of the Indian League of the Americas when he was working on high steel. He was buried in the traditional way last November.

At the Mohawk Nation at Kanawake, Teioherate (Robert McCumber), leader of the men's side of the Longhouse, a Turtle Clan man, passed into the spirit world late this summer. His family, friends, and people mourn their loss.

We mourn the passing of George Terrance, a Mohawk royaner of the Bear Clan at Akwesasne, on August 8.

Ron Shackleton, a Mohawk who founded the Native Law Student's Association, died of a heart attack at age 25, a shock to all who knew him, and a loss to the native people. He had represented the native people of Canada at the World Population Conference in Bucharest, Hungary, a year ago.

Webster Little Jim, 55, chief of the Absentee Shawnee tribe after his father, passed on August 6 at his home in Norman, Oklahoma.

Ellison Myer "Tarzan" Brown, a Narragansett who twice won the Boston Marathon, was killed August 23 when he was run over by a van in a parking lot after a dispute a few minutes previous. He was 61 years of age, and left behind a legacy of folk tales about him. As a young man, he ran every day through Rhode Island woods, usually barefoot. At least twice, he ran two separate classic marathons of 26 miles each in less than 24 hours. Most of the trophies he won were sold for money to buy food and clothing. Others he gave to friends. "I couldn't eat a trophy," he explained.



Falling Dominoes

NOTES: Your "Scandal Behind the U.S. Orphan Airlift" in Early Summer 1975 issue exposes hypocrisy usually concealed in federal propaganda and news media. Where were the lovers of Vietnamese children when the U.S. Air Force was bombing people who had no air force and no navy, and lifted half-way around the world? Who spoke of children when six-million tons of explosives were hurled hither and yon and walls went up about POWs and those listed MIA?

Would any nation carry on war across the Pacific for nearly two decades without self-serving interest, such as the domino theory? Dominoes long have been falling across the Pacific.

The U.S. tried to purchase California from Mexico, sale was refused, and in the war of 1848, the territory was acquired. Just after the Civil War, William H. Seward, Secretary of State, engineered the annexation of Midway, and urged annexation of Hawaii. In 1893, an "American element" started a revolution in Hawaii, and 160 U.S. Marines went ashore to aid the rebels. The Queen was deposed, and Hawaii was annexed in 1898.

The next domino was the Philippine Islands, seized the same year from Spain and Filipinos were conquered in a two-year war that cost 4300 American lives. The big domino was a foothold in Asia. Korea is a mere appendage. Vietnam is the domino that held firmly against conquest of the American frontier.

Berlin B. Chapman
Orlando, Florida

Did Anyone Know Frank Deary?

FRIENDS: I find your newspaper reaffirms my pride as an Indian.

My grandfather is Apache. I have never known him since my grandmother and he were divorced when my father was a child. Recently, I learned that he is possibly living at the Mesalero Apache Reservation. I would like very much to find him.

His name as I know it is Frank Deary. He married Ocie Brown in the early 1900s near Los Alamos. Any assistance that you can give me would be greatly appreciated.

Wilda Dearie Ging
4408 Hartford 1111
Dallas, Texas 75219

Like Coyote, Maybe?

HELLO: My husband and I wish to give our son an Indian name meaning Coyote. Could you help us find a way to learn the different names for coyote?

Linda Merely
Route 1, Todds Valley
Nelson, New Zealand

Attn: Frank Caldwell

NOTES: I've lost contact with Alex Caldwell and Frank Caldwell from Minneapolis, Minnesota, and I need to get in touch with them. Anyone having their address, please send it to me, or tell them where I am.

Larry Propotnik 09281-147
Box 1000
Leavenworth, Kansas 66048

Attn: Vickie Sears

NOTES: I am trying to locate my sister, Vickie Sears. Last known address was Kent, Washington. Can any of you help me?

Lee Vest
2201 Tenth St. NW
Roanoke, Virginia 24012

Attn: U.S.A.

NOTES: A few ideas for the U.S. Bicentennial. Let us see in an exhibition.

- the "Treaties"
- the ropes used to hang the 38 Santee Sioux in Mankato, 1862.
- the kettle used to boil the skin off the head of Mangas Colorado, the Apache patriot.
- a smallpox blanket.
- the bayonet used to murder Crazy Horse.
- one of the howitzers used at Wounded Knee, 1890.
- the rifle used to kill Richard Oakes.
- a table of the vital statistics, life expectancies, etc.

In New York, there is to be an exhibit reviewing the "American Indian From 1876 to 1976" — one cannot help but have the picture spring to mind of Germany in the year of 1939, Berlin or Cologne museums advertising "One Hundred Years of Gypsy Culture". I think my meaning is clear.

Terry & Beryl Lewis
Birmingham, England

BROTHERS & SISTERS: I am an Oneida brother presently incarcerated in Lewisburg Federal Prison doing 4 years on an 8-year sentence — maybe more after I've written this letter to my Family, you true American nations.

There are five native brothers at this prison, two Tuscaroras, one Cherokee, one Ojibway, and myself. The warden, staff members, and chaplain reject our request to have our religion brought within this prison. We wish to let our hair grow to our tribal ways, to wear our chokers, headbands, and to have our religious people come in.

Our reply from the warden was: "Hairstyles at Lewisburg are guided by policy statement 7300.64 (3-6-72). Please review section (c) of this policy. 'Extremely long hair styles are not authorized.' If you have specific religious concerns, please see the appropriate chaplain."

The chaplains have sided with the prison staff members. Yet our true faith was given to us to follow, believe, carry on, uphold, and protect at all times. We must not turn face on our Great Spirit Creator. We ask our chiefs and councils for help. We pray that they will keep the courage strong and alive within us at all times. I look for my Family to help rehabilitate me (to restore me to my right condition) and others who have lost their way.

The chaplains told me to go to my cell, kneel and pray. I explained to them that this is not my way. I asked why entertainment was allowed into the prisons, yet our religion is not. We are allowed to shave our head bald, but we cannot leave a strip of hair as in a Mohawk haircut. We can have radios and wristwatches, but not headbands.

I hope to receive your replies and suggestions to this serious matter.

Terry Davis 38930-133
POBox 1000
Lewisburg, Pa. 17837

NOTES: I think the Indian problems throughout the history has been far-to-little concerned to the general mind. The people in common are not aware of the human tragedy which was and is the fate of the Indian nations. We, the Europeans and the white America, has an unbelievable guilt to these people which we must pay, in one way or another.

I think there is a big and deep change going on in the mind of the people throughout the world and it is my deepest hope that the Indian people will find their way back to the real Indian culture, the natural living in and with the nature, and not take part in the decadent living in our white civilization which must be put to an end. The white history is made of blood and money and we have lost the touch of the soul, the substantial part of our minds.

We must fight even harder to make people aware of the situation today, to make a solid change in the future. My eyes are often filled with tears when the thoughts about this cross my mind. We must learn the white man to live like a human being.

If there is a chance for me to reach some Indian people by this letter, I would be more than content. In this way, I could fight even harder for a broad opinion in my own home country.

Tommy Eriksson
Mariebergsvägen 11
611 00 Nyköping, SWEDEN

NOTES: There seems to be growing evidence that a new age is dawning. I think that genuine socialism will be the world of tomorrow. Now is the time to study, think, and act. Write for free literature to Socialist Labor Party, 914 Industrial Ave., Palo Alto, California 94303.

M.J. Preston
Buffalo, New York

NOTES: I, John Lightfoot Osceola Jr. of the Seminole Nation of Florida, born in the swamp, have had it with this s-called prison hospital. I have been beat up by the so-called prison staff, have had my proud life taken from me. I am 40 years no, so I hope my native people can make it because I will be with Mother Earth under Father Sky.

John Whitefoot Osceola, Jr.
POBox 307, Ward 2, 14777
Beacon, New York 12508

(Persons in the Beacon area who could visit and monitor this brother's situation should contact him to make arrangements.)
The Editors.]

NOTES: In regard to the burial of Joseph Stuntz in your Late Summer edition, page 6, there is an error in regard to the place of burial.

Our brother, "Little Joe," was buried on Wallace Little's land about a mile south of where he was killed. He is buried among us, the Oglala Sioux. He lays where we can see him and gain the strength that we need so bad to go on.

He was a beautiful person, and we will not let our brother die in vain. We must strive to do that which he believed in. Any day is a good day to die for our brothers and sisters. The Great Spirit be with you.

The Oglala Sioux of
Oglala, South Dakota

NOTES: If anyone knows whereabouts of Rita Brant from Sisseton, please have her get in touch with me.

David Trout Stadon
3626 Blocker Dr.
Dayton, Ohio 45420

BROTHERS & SISTERS: How can I express the sadness in my heart? There doesn't seem to be much hope that the people of America will ever know that the genocidal policies are still in force on the reservations.

One of our brothers is dead — sacrifice. People angry. How many more Oglalas are to die? FBI — woman, children, we stood up. We will stand united. Janklow says we are punks. Shotgun vs. M-16, bullet-proof vests; got us surrounded. Yet we look forward to see the sun another day, thanking Tunkashila for all we are blessed with.

Goons run around, raping, stabbing, killing. What do they get? A pat on the back, nice work, eh? Looking forward to ripping off more federal funds intended for grassroots people.

Denied the right to live, to practice the beauty of our language, culture. I even have to wonder if my white history teacher is a pig — got to expect the worst around here.

Thanks for your time — your paper is the one that speaks the truth. Mitaguey Owasin. In struggle, Ta Tiyopa Waste Winyan.

Leola Hall
Pine Ridge, South Dakota

BROTHERS & SISTERS: There is a large dark cloud that is slowly, yet surely settling over all of civilization. The president of the U.S. realizes the problem, and it haunts him. Nations accumulate great wealth in the name of it, yet they are afraid. The leaders of the industrial nations tremble when they speak of it. The Energy Crises, the nagging problem, refuses to go away.

The sum total of modern civilization's continued survival hangs on oil, energy. Nations are beginning to increase their consumption of oil, rather than conserve it. Few politicians would have the courage to tell the truth about the energy crises — even if they tried, the American people wouldn't believe it. They commonly believe atomic power or some other source will bail them out.

1976 should be called the Year of the Dinosaurs, the celebration of the beginning of the end, the decline and fall of Western Civilization.

There has always been a blind-spot in the Judeo-Christian religion that has brought about this disaster — the philosophy that the earth was created for man to harness and do with as he wished. Western philosophers have spewed forth this folly for centuries, and now the learned men realize in horror they are on the road to disaster.

The United States of America, in her 200 years, has done more destruction to earth mother than all the nations and civilizations combined throughout recorded history — all in the name of progress.

To us, the native Americans, participation in this depraved [Bicentennial] orgy is a sacrilege to us and our ancestors. Do we so dishonor them by being a spectacle for the white man?

Instead, I ask all our people to honor their ancestors in 1976, by casting off their Anglo-Saxon names, and assume their true identity. Let us once again hear the ringing sounds of the old names, the Old Ways.

Kupatini
(also known as Lillian Peterson)
Portland Chapter, American Indian Movement
710 S. McLoughlin
Oregon City, Oregon 97222

NOTES: We live in the Shasta Trinity National Forest as natural people have always done. In the past, we have been harassed and arrested by the Government, yet we are still here and growing stronger both physically and spiritually with each passing day. It is because of this that we understand what has been done and is still being done to the native American people. We understand the determination of the people of Ganienkeh and others who would follow the path of "los naturales".

There are no roads here, and everything coming from outside must be packed on horseback in steep country on narrow trails. Much of our clothing, tools, weapons, rigging for our horses, etc., we make ourselves. Much of it is patterned after the things of the Old Ways, done by hand in the Old Ways.

However, we can't find much on rigging and packing of horses, particularly in the Old Ways of the Nez Perce and Shoshone people who were probably the best high-country packers in the world.

We would appreciate any knowledge of these things that might be passed on to us by your readers, or information on who we might contact to learn these things.

Ed Munk
Denny, California 95535

NOTES: On your Guatemala trip [vol 7, no. 1] each of you experienced the splash of cold water on the spirit of seeing another culture, causing you to question. Each was forced to re-evaluate literally all they had known, if I read you rightly. Perhaps you itemized yourselves and found yourselves wanting.

If so, then the venture was a total success. A true learning experience is that which provides just such a jolt to the perception, which shakes us up enough to make us think about our Ways & beliefs.

You all returned to share your thoughts with us. This in turn is a great gift, a giving of strength, and I want you to know that at least here, the lesson was not overlooked.

Peter Moore
Chelmsford, Ontario

NOTES: Why is it that native people still cannot live with each other? I think you have a lot of fear from racism between native people, more than you do from the outside. Fullbloods will not accept Indian/white mix, and neither will accept Indian/black mix. Aside from this, it seems to me that native Americans feel strongly against whites and blacks. It puts me in mind of a big fire circle of hate.

John Ellwood
Riverhead, New York

NOTES: We want to get an Indian into the presidency [of the U.S.] and we intend to do this. Of course it is grandiose in thinking, but we do not feel it impractical or impossible. The next one-hundred years may no be around for any Indian Peoples if the conditions of the U.S. Government don't improve. We think Indians need to work to try to see to it some kind of order is restored to this country, and that Indians can and do possess the necessary leadership to make this happen.

Harold Govett, Secretary
860 North Point
San Francisco, California 94109

NOTES: Some people in Germany ask for one or more contact people of each tribe to be directly informed on cases where quick action is advisable or necessary, such as protests and petitions. Write to me.

Helga Ledeur
Ilse Rupp
Eriessenwall 64,
5 Cologne
West Germany

NOTES: It is good that your people are growing their own crops and setting about relying on themselves and nature more and more once again. I too have started my survival stores. Your people are lucky, really, as they have been forced to live on that principle all of their lives — and will fare much better in the long run.

Jean Nastos
Newark, Delaware

NOTES: The American Indian Information and Activities club here is interested in hearing from other Indian clubs at other colleges across the country.

Brad Kaufman
American Indian Club
c/o Prof. Hecht, History Dept.
Kingsborough Community College
Brooklyn, New York 11235

NOTES: Any American Indian living in the metropolitan area of New York City who is interested in blue-collar, day-to-day work should report to the Delivery Department of the following newspapers: New York Times, New York Post, and the Daily News. Go directly to the foreman's office for the correct information on the time and place that the workers are hired. No driver's license is required, and the pay is about \$40 a day.

Ira Rappaport
Franklin Square, New York



NOTES: In regards to your spring issue on your trip to Guatemala. The united strength of native brothers is very much needed. It makes me very happy to see you going and making contacts and communications with natural peoples all over these lands. The natives of this earth can only increase their knowledge and powers of life in sharing the many diverse traditions from Alaska to Tierra del Fuego.

I would like to share with you an understanding I have about the Ladinos. Several of your articles portrayed them, as well as many Chicanos, as separating themselves from the naturales by acquiring European habits. The contention was they "choose" to do so. The idea of "choice" as it now exists is European.

Natural people work with and are a part of the powers of the sun's animate earth, i.e., animals, wild fruits, crops, moving air, running water, terrain, natural cultures and people, etc. The "fulfillment" of the relationship with these forces are determined by the naturales themselves, and by the traditions which have developed from living in immediate contact with sun animate earth. This is a natural "self-determination."

The Europeans control and subjugate naturales by destroying the powers of self-determination, and any powers of choice naturales may have. As an example, the destruction of the powerful gift of the buffalo left the plains natives either to starve or go to the forts of the European invader. At the forts, they could either die physically, or submit to the "determination" of the European. Submission left them mentally and spiritually sick, or spiritually dead, i.e., Ladinos. This is not choice — it is subjugation.

The Europeans play a game of choice. They hold out their hands and give you a chance to choose your determination. The trick is they let you choose only between their hands. You are not allowed your own hand in the game. Nor your own determination.

The powers that were once given by the sun and the earth were stolen, and are now sold back by the European to their human subjects. The earth was once the provider — now the systems and ladders of the Europeans appear to be. Knowledge, respect, love and an active involvement with the environment were once the Way, now doing a job and getting the money is the Way. And in place of natural fulfillment and self-determination, now comes pleasing those who have so they will allow us a little.

Alienation from the sun, earth, life, and creative powers leaves a vacuum void of love and satisfaction and creative hard work. Materialism is the neurosis of need generated by the frustrating impotency of capitalism.

Pride in possessing attractive nonsense things is given in place of creative, vital self-determination. And if only the powers taken away were sold back real! Instead — foods that have no nutrition. Cow's milk in a bottle instead of the loving breast of a mother. Sex of celluloid, magazines, and face paint. Plastic records for a people who have forgotten how to sing. Thrills from television instead of human communication and involvement. Books and paid professionals instead of hard thought and concerned advice of loving family. Culture that was once a way of action becomes a culture of objects to decorate and clutter the house. Active culture dies — material culture can never really be alive.

Many ladinos, Chicanos, blacks, (Indians) have indeed become no more than materialist, capitalist, Europeans with a natural tan. But many, no matter how hard they try, seem to never make it. A choice is a power beyond us. The buffalo and Black Hills were tremendous powers beyond the Oglala. The way of corn and beans were power choices beyond the Aztec. If people are to have a choice, it will be beyond them — it will be a Way, system, "natural determination", not European ethnic-capitalist-materialist determination.

Naturales understand what self-determination is. They are a part of the living process.

Somewhere within the power of the sun is the way to melt these white snows and bring the warmth and life of spring. Then our brothers will come back.

Seeking the Powers of Spring Rains
Isla Vista, California

Wayne Raney, a native man confined in Southern Ohio Correctional Facility at Lucasville, continues to be isolated with few, if any, privileges. He has been a frequent correspondent on these letters pages, and readers have written the Governor of Ohio on his behalf. But now, he has been restricted from writing letters. The Governor considers him "one of the most dangerous inmates at that facility" to explain Raney's constant harassment by his keepers, and has declined to take any action on his behalf. Ohio residents may be able to get local newspapers interested in Raney's case, and to encourage the legislature to pass a bill permitting Raney to be transferred to an out-of-state institution where he will not be the subject of revengeful treatment. The Editors.

above

the Dance Ground
the Sky Dancer
dances the way of the stars.
the Star Dancer moves in quick, lifting steps,
a starry dog nipping at his heels

— Mike Rivers



Sweat Lodge — The Afterwards

Water on rocks the hiss of steam,
of sage
dropped rocks into holes in space
the hissing of star-flung meteors,
No!
yes, it is thought sparks my mind
is thinking
maybe
but through all time there is a voice
singing
shoulder to shoulder squatting among
mountains
great boulders move and touch
and the sound is a hollowness
space echo
this lodge is the earth womb
is the mother time
is the past into future time,
the unborn of our people
touch my hanging hair,
I shiver, feel a choking
my chest aches
as I gulp down steam
breathe through nose a pure darkness
I am snake stream winding downhill
belly-slithering among trees
lying in moss I watch companions
float
above and beyond minds' beginnings
I touch cedar and sage, my nose
tasting,
In a sometime, a pipe,
sacred,
then raspberries
and more water,
a singing
has entered my mind,
a creature circle of chewing
eating away my brain blanket
to open bare my mind to darkness
as the lodge rocks
back and forth and now spinning
again through space spinning
the singing,
shoulder nudged again
by fur
to sway the other way
to touch
yielding shell
it is they
then, I am
sitting here between bear
and turtle
yes,
bear and turtle

I reach to feel my chest
my legs,
reaching
with hands and arms
I do not have,
nothing,
I am nothing, no body
nothing,
I am a thought
a seed in space
a blown and scattered thing
among stars
one of many
one of multitudes, circling,
silent,
then striking the husk
of a larger seed
which also whirls and
clatters
within yet another
I am nothing, I am all
I am a part of
I am a part of
a circle within this lodge
a cycle
in the Mystery!
I hear this and my body jumps
though it is only my neighbor,
coughing,
"Grandfather!"
this voice
is from within and without
it is a shout
an outcry
but it tapers like a flame
to a pleading,
"Grandfather?"
Then all is fading
is going
my selfness
fading slowly
through self and into beyond self
wandering among spirits
among seeds which are thought,
are pure feeling,
then a chanting, a song
and far back
from a cavern back
(whisper)
"Grandfather,
I am home."

— blue cloud
Mohawk Territory

With My Kachina

I put your feathers
in your buckskin bag.
It is almost time for the spring rain
to come again.
I thought I saw you today
near the Joshua tree
sitting
on a wide stone
with your peace pipe
in your hand.
The lava beds
are darker now,
almost the color of night
as I
walk by wrinkled.
A passing tribe offers food
and a drink of cold water.
They are Navajo men,
tall on their horses,
moccasins dusty from hunting
buffalo spirits,
buffalo between their fingers.
They see I am distorted
and safely lead me
back to life.

Your gourd hangs over the door.
Its beads are not needed
to remind me of your name.
I paint you
bent in turquoise and mahogany sand,
soft enough to hold me,
pull me inside.

Tomorrow I will plant seeds
along the edge of the field
where we used to play.

Just before the corn is up
I'll wonder how many
times I will feel your shadow behind me,
how many times I will long
to touch your eyes and capture
your beautiful calm.

I wait here alone
with only my blanket
to share the chill of evening
and I wonder why
you never find me
anymore.

— El Gilbert
CBS/NYC — 9/11/1974

I can feel the movement
I can feel the People stirring
I can feel the Power
I can feel the People praying
Yo! I call for you to listen
Hear with eyes clear
Hear with heart pure
Together we will shake the ground
Together we will heal.

— Jomay Lube Modesto

Beyond the Sun

She was the last
of the Pueblo women
her people
had long since
departed
leaving the friendly cliffs
where they had lived
for so long a time
leaving also
all their ancient
tribal secrets
locked away
forever
in the pueblos
of her mind
she was the last
of her gentle race
and now
she too
must soon abandon
the mesa
that she loved
for the spirits
of her departed people
were calling softly
telling her
of a new Pueblo
beyond the sun.

— Ross Laursen



SHAMAN STAR DANCER

"Prayerful People"

find the way
a trail
a mountain

My eagle leading

accompanying
my heart
To live!
to live!
to live!

— Maurena Thompson

Arrows of Resonance

Arrows wake behind your eyes, my Brother,
swift arrows fly from your tongue.
You confound the Enemy with your vision,
you confound his head with the drums of your
chanting. His territory, the land he has
taken from you, is exposed at the center:
he cannot resist the spears of your prophecy.
When he flayed Tecumseh, that warrior's skin
grew to him — outside inward, O he has learned
secrets he keeps trying to suppress, most of
all from himself. But you are flaying off
his mask; his falseness, his maggoty flag,
you're stripping from his beergut with your
tongue; his sheriffs and his FBI men hide
behind bullhorn and tape recorder, ambushing
your truths in their emptiness, saving you
for posterity.

But the young warriors, the
young men and women, are made pregnant by
your witness, O Shaman; they carry in their
ribs the New Child of the New Tribe.
A continent awakens in their thighs and throats.
They will help America discover herself
for the first time free.

In spite of themselves,
the young warriors will teach wisdom and
dignity to kennels of bobbysoxers. There will
be no bicentennial celebration: today's fathers
and mothers will be in mutual labor in a
birthing sundance for tomorrow. Drums
will translate the Liberty Bell into a new
sound, and no one, not one, shall be excluded.
Your cactus shall bloom in the desert of
city streets. Every thorn shall rejoice,
for the bitter wait is over. There is genesis
in every corner, in every curve, of your song.

— Will Inman

Tucson, Arizona
3 June, 1975

